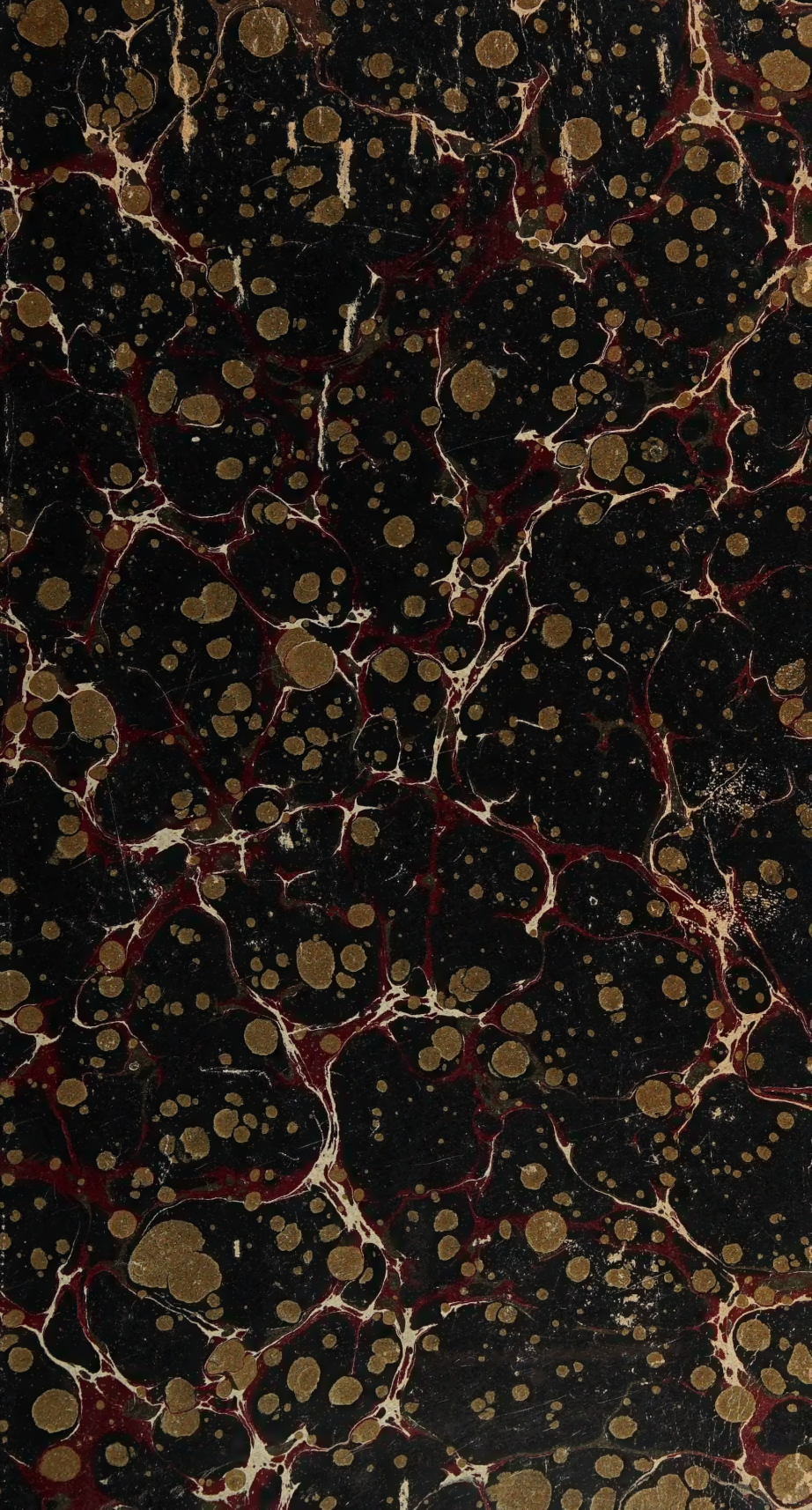

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FÜR

ROMANISCHE PHILOLOGIE

BEGRÜNDET VON PROF. DR. GUSTAV GRÖBER †

FORTGEFÜHRT UND HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

DR. ALFONS HILKA
PROFESSOR AN DER UNIVERSITÄT GÖTTINGEN

LXXVIII. HEFT

H. F. MULLER
A CHRONOLOGY OF VULGAR LATIN

MAX NIEMEYER VERLAG
HALLE (SAALE)
1929

A CHRONOLOGY

OF

VULGAR LATIN

BY

H. F. MULLER
(BARNARD COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK)

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HALLE (SAALE)
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Preface.

Philologists have more or less consciously held to the opinion that the transition from Latin to Romance must have been a very gradual one. As documents do not show anything of the kind, but are, in the earlier period, of a Latin character with isolated Romance-like features, then later Romance with isolated Latin-like features, it has been universally assumed that the former did not represent the reality; that the gradual evolution took place in the oral tongue without leaving any but scattered vestiges in the writings of the time.

Yet, as we shall have occasion to note, all the phenomena contributory to the transformation of Latin into Romance appear in the Merovingian documents: formation of the oblique case, periphrastic future of various kinds, undermining of the Latin passive and creation of an analytic form, of new personal pronouns and articles out of the demonstrative, new Romance syntax, etc. They are all there. Their varying frequency occurs in great part according to chronological order, so that the more recent the document, up to 770, the more complex Romance features it possesses. They are all there. But they are not alone, they are immersed in a mass of more or less classical forms. These have misled the philologists into the view that the documents represented nothing real but a miserable attempt at writing classical Latin. As a matter of fact, they simply show how linguistic phenomena take place: in a fluctuating, vacillating manner in which the old and the new live side by side, coexist in a constantly shifting proportion, so that an observer would, very often, not be able to tell what the direction is. This is especially true in times of great transformation.

A period similar to this one, but not identical by any means, is the XVIth century. It is the century when the old French rhythmical system underwent that most remarkable change which puts French in a class of its own among the important languages of western Europe. The confused, erratic character of the pronunciation in the XVth and XVIth centuries is bewildering[1]. Old medieval

[1] Cf. Thurot: De la prononciation française ... Paris, 1881, passim.

pronunciation based on another rhythm was still heard side by side with pronunciation anticipating the XIXth century. Around 1550 there is a very sharp turn. The modern rhythm (suppression of real diphthongs, of the feminine *e* etc.), is practically accomplished. Phonetically and especially rhythmically, the difference must have been exceedingly great. Up to 1550, French still had a sense of stressed and unstressed syllables. It practically lost it around that date.

From that point of view French assumed a new nature. Whatever was not in keeping with that new nature, being a relic of the old system, was gradually and promptly eliminated. Up to that time, heterogeneous features could coexist in an apparently confused mass, they could now no longer do so. Although it had taken centuries to prepare this transformation, it took probably less than a generation to form the new being according to its recently organized nature.

This is precisely the way the transformation of Latin into Romance took place. The creation of new features making for a new language went on for centuries; and all this while, the old traditional features persisted along with the new. For instance, while the passive infinitive was being gradually obliterated, a profusion of deponent verbs were constantly being made out of the old active, just as in the fourteenth century, on the eve of the disappearance of the casual *s*, this very *s* was extended to a number of nouns and adjectives which had never known it. In the sixteenth century, at the time when the pronunciation of final *s* was more and more falling into disuse, some people would add it to every word: "Monsieur, ie me recommandes a vous de tous mons cœur"[1].

Then, in the fourth quarter of the eighth century, when the essential features of the new language have been created, a rather sudden shifting of the linguistic forces takes place: the new speech is born. And now, whatever heterogeneous, outworn, unsuitable material has been left, is rapidly eliminated. The new being rejects it according to its instinctive standard.

We have, as we shall see in the course of this study, both linguistic and historical evidence to bear out this view. Generally speaking, phenomena of life always take place in this manner: they assume the form of a revolution whether in the organic or in the social world. But that revolution is nothing else than the shifting of the center of forces. Yet that necessary revolution does not create the new forces, the new organs: they have been

[1] Thurot, op. cit., T. 2, p. 37, says: "Mais je soupçonne ici quelque exagération." But why? At least the use of the *s* in liaison became greatly exaggerated with some people.

in the making for ages. Take for example the French Revolution which is most illuminating in this respect. It had been preparing for centuries: the new world organism was completed. But however, on the very eve of that Revolution, the most heterogeneous features, medieval and even Merovingian, coexisted with regular nineteenth century elements: then the shifting of forces sets in, the Revolution breaks out. In less than a generation the new society has discarded practically all the old material that seemed to be so incorporated with France that it was felt to be eternal.

A consequence of this is that in these various avatars, we have not to deal with a single language which we divide into classes, Latin, lingua romana, Old French, Modern French, to make the exposition of the facts easier, we are in the presence of new linguistic systems, evolving from one another, in truth, through the gradual and slow formation of new features, but also getting into shape through a rapid organisation of these features into new systems: a quick, in a way, revolutionary, process which marks the various steps of every real evolution.

Also, when we find the formation of these new features proceeding slowly along in the texts from the VIth to the VIIIth centuries in a gradual development, we would have absolutely no reason not to regard it as keeping close to the language of real life: had these features existed before, they would not have appeared in such a logical order; their manner of appearance is a sure sign of their close connection with life. The fact that they are scattered in a Latin mass does not weaken the force of their testimony, as we have seen above, neither must they be made to tell more than they actually signify.

Introduction.

It is not the intention of the author to go over the ground covered by Mohl in his Chronology of Vulgar Latin. Perhaps Mohl's most important aim was to connect the Romance forms peculiar to this and that dialect with those of the Italic or other languages anterior to the hegemony of Rome. It was, in reality, a development and demonstration of Muratori's idea about which we will have something to say further on. Meritorious as such an attempt may be, it is far from solving the most fundamental problems concerning the birth of the Romance languages; and, in general, Mohl's explanation has not been approved or confirmed by subsequent research.

The principal reason is that the explanatory facts, to wit: the phenomena of the Italic dialects and the facts to be explained, v. g. the disappearance of the declension are separated by an interval of several hundred years, with such few data in between, that Mohl's assumption of the continued existence and development of these far-reaching Italic dialectal features, must, to an unbiased mind, appear doubtful. Who can believe for instance, on the strength of scriptes for scriptos, CIL I 198, 1. 14, Mohl, p. 216 ff., that the Vulgar Latin form in Italy was *scriptes* = *scriptis* (It. *scripti*) for the masculine plural of the second and third declension, that because in the Lex Furfensis we have "ad aedem donum datum", the dative had disappeared as early as Scylla and Caesar's time; that the famous cum discentes of the Pompeian inscription must be interpreted as cum discentis for *-ibus*, one form: *is*, for the plural of the second and third declensions.

Why should we disregard all the overwhelming mass of evidence contrary to these few isolated facts which are susceptible of a more natural interpretation?

It may be true indeed that some features of the pre-Roman dialects survive in the Romance languages (*tuber* = *tufer* = *truffe*), but in general they do so through having been incorporated in the common Latin language[1]. At any rate they are isolated, scattered

[1] Diez, Gram. Sp. I 3 93. Dräger, Hist. Synt. d. Lat. Sp. I, p. XXII. Cf. Budinsky, Ausbreit. d. l. Sp., p. 75.

expressions of the nature of idiomatic words or locutions, not far-reaching morphological or syntactic features which are sufficient to differentiate languages of the same family. Besides, direct evidence is completely lacking. The survival of the French patois, for instance, is attested in many ways, even during the classical period. Nothing of the kind is available in regard to the survival of the Umbrian, Osk or Faliscan dialects. Had they survived in some remote corners of the country so as to avoid obtruding themselves on the various writers' or grammarians' attention, it is difficult to believe that the speech of such unimportant localities would have imposed its forms on that of the most considerable regions of the empire, and this unknown, or unnoticed by everybody, the facts to come out a thousand years later.

This is of course different from the question of regional peculiarities in the speech of the various countries, although here again, the facts themselves are elusive; and their bearing on the problem of interest to us, the dialectalisation of the Romance languages, is practically non-existent. Assuredly the inhabitants of the Roman empire could tell the origin and country of a man from his pronunciation and some peculiar uses of his speech, and many authors have mentioned the subject; but when we try to start from their statement as a basis for a differentiation of the Romance languages, we do not get anywhere. What light, for instance, does the following characterization of the speech of the four principal groups of Latin speakers under the empire throw on the future development of Romance in Italy, France and Spain?: "Callidus Afer eris semper, Romane disertus, semper Galle piger, semper Hibere celer" (Epig. Anth. lat. 901, ap. Riese, Rh. M. N. F. 36, 473, cf. Schuchardt, Vok. I, 84 ff.; A. Ernout, Les Eléments dial., Paris, 1909, p. 31).

For if, for instance, the sister of Emperor Septimius Severus was characterized as "vix latine loquens" (Spart. Sev. 15, 19), having been born in Africa where she had lived before her brother was proclaimed emperor, it is very likely, if not as Niebuhr and Bernhardy claimed (Grund. 75, Anm. 53) because her native tongue was Punic, at least, because the town of Leptis was preponderatingly so: and, as Budinsky remarks, (op. cit. p. 264) ladies of the aristocracy leading a secluded life in such outposts, especially, preserved, as Cicero (Or. III, 12) tells us was the case with Roman ladies in general, an archaic speech "ut Plautum aut Naevium videar audire". But such peculiar cases do not prove anything. Augustine whose native speech was Punic but who learned Latin "non a docentibus sed a loquentibus" "inter etiam blandimenta nutricum et joca arridentium et laetitias alludentium" (cf. 1, 14, 23, ap. Budinsky, p. 264) in the heart of Numidia, in Thagaste, does not mention any ill effect of this education on his Latin accent.

Yet Augustine was interested in such questions and would certainly have commented on them if there had been any occasion for it. But far from finding fault with this way of studying a language, right from the mouth of the people who speak it, he finds it immensely superior to the artificial school way, in which he studied Greek.

Such evidence as this of Augustine carries much more weight than curious anecdotes like that of Spartianus, which after all, may have originated in purist attitude of Roman society towards a provincial parvenue.

No greater case can be made out of the famous passage in Sulp. Sev. Dial. 1, 27, in which a man from the North of Gaul having to speak before Aquitanians excuses himself in advance "ne offendat vestras nimius urbanas aures sermo rusticior". Here even it is more clearly a question of style than of language for he adds: "Audietisne tamen ut Gurdonicum hominem nihil cum fuco aut cothurno loquentem?"

This Spanish accent which clung to the natives of the peninsula (Cordubae natis poetis pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinus, Cicero, pro Arch. X, 26, Budinsky, p. 76) did not prevent them from achieving great success even as teachers of Latin in Rome itself, like M. Porcius Latro who, it seems, never rid himself of his Spanish peasant's accent.

A regional feature of pronunciation like the labdacism of the Africans (Isid. Orig. 3, 1, XXXI, 8, Schuchardt, Voc. 1, 99) has evidently given no results, not only because African Latin was practically submerged by the Arabic invasions, but because such peculiarities belonged to Latin as such and disappeared with the transformation of Latin into Romance. Labdacism (pronunciation of two *l*'s for one) would easily characterize everyday French of Paris (jel l'ai vu) although it did not characterize Latin in Northern Gaul. On the other hand, the other reproach made by Isidore of Seville (560—636): "Birtus, boluntas, bita vel his similia quae Afri scribendo vitiant omnino reiicienda sunt et non per *b* sed per *v* scribenda (Isid. III, Schuchardt, Voc. 198, 131, Diez, Gram. I [3], 287, Budinsky 261) concerns a linguistic feature of the Spaniards of modern times. It must however have been unknown to Spain of the VIIth century as the very remark of Isidore plainly indicates, whereas the inscriptions show that it was most usual in the Neapolitan district. The south west of France possesses this peculiarity to a still higher degree than even Spanish; yet none of the grammarians, from Cosentius (Vth cent.) to Virgilius Maro (VIIIth cent.), who were assuredly well acquainted with the South of Gaul and mention so many other regional uses seems to be aware of this one. There is consequently no chronological connection between the Latin feature and the Romance one and the attempt to link them (Budinsky, p. 261) must therefore be abandoned.

What Cosentius, for instance, singles out as typically African: "ut quidam dicunt piper producta priore syllaba, cum sit brevis, quod vitium Afrorum familiare est" (H. Keil, V, 386 f.) became a Romance feature: *píper* = *pēpe*, *pēbre*, *poivre*.

In regard to the simplification of double consonants which to him is a peculiarity of Latin-speaking Greeks "ecce Graeci subtiliter hunc sonum *ll* efferunt ubi enim dicunt *'ille'* mihi dixit sic sonant duae *ll* prima syllaba quasi per unum *l* sermo ipse consistat" we can say that all regions simplified double consonants although Italian restored some later.

Elsewhere Cosentius will reproach one region with a defect which will be the Romance peculiarity of another, like the following "bobis pro vobis stetim pro statim quod vitium plebem Romanam ... corrumpit", which pronunciations will characterize respectively Spain and Aquitania on the one hand and Northern France on the other.

Even such unusual changes like *tr* = *cr* cannot be localized. For instance, Buechler (CLE 429) and Pieske (De tit. Afr. Lat. serm. quaest. morph. Trebnitz, 1913, p. 74) thought that *macri* = *matri* characterized African Latin: but what of *tremere* = *craindre* in French and children's pronunciation of *drapeau* = *crapeau*, etc.?

Sometimes also the linguistic phenomena referred to have left no traces anywhere, at least in the form mentioned by him v. g.: "iotacismus . . . Galli pinguius hanc (*i*) utuntur ut cum dicunt ite non expresse ipsam proferentes sed inter *e* and *i* pinguiorem sonum nescio quem ponentes." If short *i* became *e* in passing through the intermediary sound explained by Cosentius, long *i* did not in general participate in that evolution; and the exceptions are so few (*ficatus* = *fecatus*) that they must be considered as curiosities rather than as examples of general habits of speech[1].

The facts that stand out clearly marked and uncontestable are those common to all regions and which concern the evolution of the Latin Koinê, or Vulgar Latin: the change of consonantic *u* into *v*, *dia die-* into *ja*, *je*, *ae* into *e*, intervocalic *b* into *v*, etc., or features of popular pronunciation like those mentioned in the Appendix Probi. That, as Gröber points out, in the adoption of one language by so many races living in such different regions and with various habits of speech due to their own previous languages (although the last circumstance is more apparent than real), there may have been a germ of great dialectal divergences, is quite probable, but purely theoretical and vague, since in the

[1] Cf. Cosentius, ap. Keil, 91, 29; 94, 11. Most of the testimony as to these differences are given in Schuchardt, Vok. I, 84; K. Sittl, Die lok. Versch., p. 44; Budinsky, Ausbreitung . . ., p. 56 ff.; E. Ernout, Les Eléments dialec. du voc. lat., Paris, 1909, Coll. Ling. No. 3, p. 31 ff.

matter of language, social factors are vastly more important than those of race or climate or previous linguistic habits of dead ancestors. When were these natural peculiarities of speech that we know existed between the African and the Roman, the Spaniard and the Gaul, advanced enough to constitute different dialects? Gröber's answer to the question as to what constitutes a different language still holds good[1]: to wit: when these differences are important enough to make the language of one group hardly or not at all intelligible to the other. This criterion could be equally applied, mutatis mutandis, to determine the appearance of a new language as evolved from the old one. Although two different stages of one language are seldom confronted with each other, it happened at least once, in the beginning of the IXth century.

As it is generally felt and on the whole proven that the Romance languages come from the same common tongue, the Koinê or Vulgar Latin, let us leave out of consideration for the present as of secondary importance, these local differences already existing in the Latin period; and since, as we shall see, no real dialects are to be discovered before the literary period of the Romance languages, the answer to Gröber's question is always based on historical considerations. It is assumed very justly that the spreading of the Koinê over the Roman empire was concomitant with the extension of Rome's dominion over these territories. Latin became the strong cement which united together so many races and peoples. Therefore, the general consensus of opinion is that the reign of the Koinê was subordinated to the existence of the Empire. When in the Vth century under the repeated encroachments and invasions of the Barbarians, the empire of the West crumbled down, with it went the Koinê (Vth century). Each separate country out of which the Empire was made up became disconnected from the other and evolved a language or languages according to its own destiny. Although ideas on this subject are not always expressed definitely, I take it that most philologists will give to that regional Vulgar Latin about one hundred years' grace, then around the year 600, when Romance languages properly socalled begin[1]. I repeat that these considerations are based on purely historical grounds, not on linguistic; because in spite of a rather great abundance of documents of all kinds, no very important linguistic facts have been found to bear out this view of the matter.

In fact this doctrine is so little consistent with the documents that the latter have had to be completely disregarded. In spite of such an authority as Meyer-Lübke, I claim that nothing bears out the view that after the fall of the Roman Empire, Vulgar Latin

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[1] Grundriſs, I, 418.
[2] Cf. Gröber, AflL. I.

evolved separately in the various regions of Romania. The writings of the period which is conveniently called Merovingian and which extends to the middle of the eighth century become, indeed, more and more barbarous, but curiously enough, except for some few peculiarities, the barbarisms with which they teem are practically the same over the whole western Romania, that is to say, where documents in corrupt Latin are to be found.

The great scholars of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries Du Cange, Mabillon, Muratori, had pondered over this problem. Du Cange, in his Glossarium, Muratori in his 32nd Dissertation (t. 6, Ant.) De origine linguae italianae, collected a great many references having a possible bearing on this question, these references being practically all those which later Romanists have used since in discussing the existence of these pre-historic dialects, whose existence is inferred but not demonstrated. Du Cange in his Preface held about the same opinion which has been prevalent since then; but Muratori finding it impossible to ascertain a point of departure for the production of Italian dialects (Du Cange could assign as starting point of the production of French dialects the separation of Gaul from Rome, but this could not, of course, be the case for Rome herself, nor could the fall of the Roman Empire mean the same for Italy, especially Central Italy, as for Gaul), did not hesitate to recognize during the classical period itself a classical tongue which the Romans learned in their schools and a multitude of dialects which they used in the ordinary affairs of life: "Neque enim Cicero scripsisset non tam praeclarum esse scire Latine, quam turpe nescire; neque Ovidius Romanis auctor fuisset, ut linguas duas ediscerent si ad Latinam recte assequendam una matris aut nutricis schola satis fuisset" and Quintilian (1, 10), would not have said: "aliud esse Latine, aliud grammatice loqui" (Murat., op. cit. 408).

This is how Muratori expresses, naively, his astonishment at the uniformity of Latin over the whole empire which was to to be succeeded by such an infinite number of dialects. This uniformity, he notices with astonishment and almost with indignation, continues through the whole Merovingian period until finally mention is made by the contemporaries of the existence of a Vulgar tongue different from Latin: "Nam si Vulgari lingua usi fuissent, miram diversitatem loquelae sentiremus in chartis variarum civitatum ac nationum ex varietate videlicet Dialectorum" (op. cit. 495).

This is of course begging the question; but his testimony as to the uniformity of corrupt Latin which appears in the documents of the whole Romania during the Merovingian period is valuable. Neither Carnoy, nor Pirson nor Sittl or Schuchardt, etc. have been able to modify it, except in secondary matters, and that hardly before the VIIIth century.

This macaronic Latin, so Muratori says, is like the one that a man ignorant of Latin would write if he attempted to use that language: it has no rules. But modern philologists have all discovered very clear tendencies which cannot be ascribed to such a negative cause as ignorance, but must be the effect of a very positive one, i. e. linguistic habits which unfold themselves. This view is commonly admitted and has passed into the domain of general history. Thus in Lavisse (II, I, p. 243) we read: "Elle (la langue) est en rupture avec la grammaire, mais les barbarismes et les solécismes dont elle fourmille ne sont pas fortuits; ils ont leur raison d'être et donnent naissance à des règles." But these with very few exceptions are common to Romania.

I have thus dwelt on Muratori's opinion because he expresses the essence of a view held with various modifications by most philologists, at least as far as the Merovingian period is concerned.

Starting from the general opinion that there was a Koinê or Vulgar Latin spoken about the same everywhere so that inhabitants of the Roman empire understood each other, it is my purpose to endeavor to demonstrate that the cessation of the existence of that Koinê is not at all coincident with the fall of the Roman empire, or directly connected with it; that this Vulgar Latin common to western Romania continued its existence up to and in the VIIIth century; that the rise of dialects is due to positive and not to negative causes, viz: the social conditions prevalent in the West after the VIIIth century.

I shall attempt to prove this, first, by showing or trying to show that the historical basis for the opposite view is erroneous, and then, by pointing out to the production of several very important linguistic phenomena common to Western Romania which took place during the Merovingian period and which it would be unreasonable to suppose to have taken place in each region independently. I shall also call attention to the failure of the various attempts at finding proof of important dialectalisation before the Carolingian period. I shall conclude by emphasizing the direct relations existing between the respective characteristics of the linguistic evolution in each of those main regions and the social conditions prevalent therein. There will be brought out in the course of this discussion very important reasons why real dialectalisation could not have started before that period, the historic and social basis for such dialectalisation and its bearing on the respective features of the languages evolved from Latin.

Chapter I.

Intercourse between regions and cities during the Merovingian period.

And first as to the historical grounds adduced as the basis of a linguistic separation of the various regions of Romania, we will quote Gröber's statement of the situation because he represents the average opinion of philologists on this subject. This is what he says of the social (and linguistic) consequences of the disappearance of the Central Government of Rome, in his Grundriſs (1888, I, p. 45): Die romanische Sprache, ihre Einteilung und äuſsere Geschichte: "Bürgerrechte hinderten den Eintritt Fremder in die Gemeinden, Abgaben beengten den Verkehr von Stadt und Land. Mauern schlossen die Städte von der Umgebung ab ... Bei den Rumänen gilt noch heute verächtlich, wer sein Dorf verläſst und auſserhalb heiratet. An jedem gröſseren Orte herrschte ein anderes geistiges Leben und damit eine andere Sprache."

We may prefix our discussion of this account by remarking that this description would fit very well the situation as it developed by the end of the IXth century save for one important factor, feudalism[1], which does not appear in his exposé. Compare it with this one: "Jamais, peut-être la Gaule n'a traversé de plus sombres jours que ceux du IX^{e} et du X^{e} siècles. Partout l'anarchie, partout la guerre, plus de routes, plus de communications, plus de commerce ... les relations cessent entre les peuples, chacun s'enferme et se garde chez soi ... la vie se resserre, l'horizon se rétrécit ... chaque groupe s'isole, chaque donjon, chaque ville close, chaque

[1] Yet such a factor as feudalism would naturally be the most important, since it would mean the existence, in each small community of a self-contained, self-centered life, receiving most of its inspiration and exercise from within: it is this active, positive force which would create dialects rather than the negative condition of more or less difficult communications. We must insist upon the fact that linguistic changes are due to positive, and not to negative factors. But no none can claim that there existed such self-centered life in any community during the Merovingian period. Perhaps at no other period was the inspiration, the motive of action received from without, to the same extent.

abbaye fortifiée deviennent les capitales d'autant de petits états ... Aussi au X^e^ et au XI^e^ siècles, peu de marchands se hasardaient à l'étranger; et l'étranger c'était la Champagne pour les Normands, la Bretagne pour les Français, l'Aquitaine ou le Languedoc pour les Bourguignons"[1].

We must also add that this description, so similar to that of Gröber cannot be applied to the Mérovingian period.

Specialists of that period agree on this point that there was no break, no interruption caused by the fall of the Roman empire. We must not imagine, says Pigeonneau, op. loc. cit. p. 56, that after the invasions of the V^th^ century, "la vie sociale est suspendue, ruinée, le commerce interrompu" and a little farther: "A la fin du VI^e^ siècle, après l'établissement de la monarchie franque et la querelle des descendants de Clovis, nous retrouvons l'organisation sociale de la Gaule à peu près telle qu'elle existait sous les derniers empereurs d'Occident." Et W. Heyd, Hist. du Commerce du Levant, Trad. Française, Leipzig, 1885, T. I, p. 1: "Entre l'antiquité et le moyen-âge, la transition se fit moins brusquement: les voies et les places commerciales restèrent en général les mêmes qu'autrefois." Yet how prevalent, outside the group of specialists having a first class acquaintance with the Merovingian period, the other view, although unfounded, is, is evidenced by this quotation from Prof. C. H. Haskins (Speculum, 1, 1926, p. 20): "This unity of life and ideas (under the Roman empire) came to an end in the West with the Germanic invasions, and in the region of the Mediterranean with the Saracen conquests. Roads fell into disrepair, commerce dried up, education declined, and book-learning almost disappeared. Localism was writ large across the Europe of the early Middle Ages, the localism at first of the tribe and the estate, later shaping itself into those feudal and manorial units upon which mediaeval society rested. Both politically and socially these units were very nearly independent, and the exchange of products and ideas was reduced to a minimum. Under these conditions culture became regional at the widest." Which shows that the best scholars are still confusing periods widely remote from each other but once associated in the contempt that was felt for every century hostile or indifferent to, or unacquainted with, the classical ideal.

First we can say that the very basis of social life under the Roman empire, private ownership of land remained intact. Even during the invasions, the establishment of the Barbarians on the vast estates of the wealthy Gallo-Romans, for instance, became the object of laws and regulations. The wellknown fact of a Goth in the region of Bordeaux inquiring as far as Marseilles for the

[1] Pigeonneau, Histoire du Commerce de la France, Paris, 1885, T. I, p. 88.

owner of the land he had occupied in order to pay him for it, is quite illustrative.

All through this period, the unshaken possession of private real property with the inevitable use of legal papers, lawyers, courts, arbitrations, etc., which the administration of landed property entails for the largest landowners as well as for the peasants, is proven to us by the great number of documents of all sorts, wills deeds, judgments, formulas, laws, which fill several volumes.

It is not until after Charlemagne that this situation changes, that private property merges into feudal tenure and serfdom, although the origin of this change goes back at least to the fourth century [1].

Now all this legal aspect of private ownership of land meant the frequent use by all concerned of the written language, of the Koinê as it evolved slowly, but as we will see, identically, over the whole of western Romania. F. Brunot, in the VII[th] volume of his Histoire de la Langue française, p. 184, attributes to this very factor a great influence on the propagation of the French language among the rural classes in the French provinces: "Tout se complique, tout se conteste et tout se plaide . . . Dans ce régime socal . . . elle (la langue française) règne en maîtresse. Huissiers et sergents leur (aux paysans) ont appris bien plus de français que n'eussent fait les meilleurs maîtres d'école." If the reintroduction of private real property was so potent linguistically, and if, on the other hand its introduction had been a great factor in the Latinisation of the West, we have to admit that its preservation must have had some influence on the survival of the Koinê during the Merovingian period while its practical disappearance is evidently coincident with the remarkable growth of village speeches.

As for these local civil rights which, according to Gröber hampered the entrance of strangers into the communities, they were evidently of small moment in the three centuries which followed the fall of Rome. In fact this whole period is nothing but a filling out of Romania with strangers, a good many of Germanic origin, but not exclusively. In the town of Orleans, in the VI[th] century, King Gontran making his entry, was greeted by an immense concourse of people, Syrians (Greeks of Constantinople), Latins (Gallo-Romans), and even Jews: "Sed cum G. ad Urbem Aurelianensem venisset . . . Processitque in obviam eius immensa populi turba cum signis atque vexillis canentes laudes. Et hinc lingua (populus) Syrorum, hinc Latinorum, hinc etiam ipsorum Judaeorum in diversis laudibus varie concrepabant dicentes: Vivat rex!" [2]

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[1] Cf. Daphné: Alfred de Vigny, Historien, Modern Language Notes, May, 1914.

[2] Greg. Tur. Hist.

This by the way does not seem to indicate that strangers held an inferior or restricted position. Indeed, we know, for instance, that the Syrians established in great numbers everywhere were so well mixed with the population that they were hardly considered as strangers [1].

An Italian cleric like Fortunatus of Ceneda near Treviso († 600) became bishop of Poitiers [2]. This was about the highest situation at which a man could arrive as is evidenced, among other things, by the jealousy that King Chilperic felt towards them: "Ecce pauper remansit fiscus noster, ecce divitiae nostrae ad eclesias sunt translatae; nulli penitus nisi soli episcopi regnant; periet honor noster et translatus est ad episcopus civitatum" [3].

Bishops were usually elected by the people and clergy although some were irregularly appointed by the kings, and the elections were keenly disputed [4]. Gregory speaks of one of the deacons of the church, Jacinthus ab urbe Ravenna [5]. A Syrian by the name of Eusebius was appointed Bishop of Paris in 591. One of the financial agents of King Chilperic was the Parisian Jew Priscus. One of the doctors in Poitiers at the time of Gregory of Tours, had lived in Constantinople [6]. A certain Childericus Saxo went to live in Auch [7] etc. And this information is given us just by chance, not because the facts themselves are strange.

In fact there was so little hindrance of any kind in this respect that bishops passed easily from one diocese to another and a council had to restrain this constant shifting [8].

Skilled workers were frequently called to different towns and even outside Romania. For instance St. Eloi, when still a goldsmith, was called to Tours to work on the shrine of Saint Martin [9]. He had studied one branch of his art under Abbon in Limoges [10].

Bede tells us that the builders of the British monastery of Wiramatha in the VIIth century sent to Gaul for glassmakers as the art of glassmaking was unknown in England. And these vitri factores artifices not only did their work well but they also formed

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[1] W. Heyd, op. cit. p. 23 ff.

[2] He had come by way of Mainz, Cologne, Trèves, Metz, written poetry for Bishops and Kings at Verdun, Reims, Soissons, Paris, Tours, Poitiers: Cf. Manitius, Gesch. d. Lat. Lit. d. Mittelalt., München, 1911, T. I, p. 170.

[3] Greg. VI, 46. MGH. SRM. T. 1, p. 286.

[4] A. Hauck: Die Bischofswahlen unter den Merov., Erlangen, 1883, pp. 4, 35, passim.

[5] Greg. Gloria, 80.

[6] Lavisse, 2, 1, p. 203. Greg. Hist. Franc. IX, 39.

[7] Greg. H. F. X, 22, p. 434.

[8] Cap. Francf. an. 794, 7, Migne, 97, 7.

[9] S. Eligii Vita ab Aud. II, LXVI, Migne, 87, 585.

[10] Blanchet et Dieudonné, Manuel de Numismatique fr., Paris, 1912, p. 219.

English workers. In the meantime the buyer for the convent canvassed all places on the continent to find the required vases and holy vestments. What he could not procure in Gaul, he got in Rome[1]. Another time it is stonemasons (caementarios) which are thus imported[1]. And this was repeated through the eighth century, because the Anglo-Saxons do not seem to have learned these arts very readily, probably on account of their relative isolation. In 758 King Kuthbert wrote to the Anglo-Saxon Lullus, bishop of Mainz: "Si aliquis homo in tua sit parochia qui vitrea vasa bene possit facere, cum tempus arrideat mihi mittere digneris . . . quia eiusdem artis ignari et inopes sumus . . . Dilectat me quoque cytharistam habere . . . quia citharam habeo et artificem non habeo"[2].

And although we are apt to think of Merovingian Gaul as devoid of schools, the greater intensity and deeper penetration of the spiritual life of Romania through and to the smallest places and remotest parts, as we shall see later, spread a sort of elementary education among the ever-increasing clergy and through them to a good part of the people: indeed M. Roger thinks that in the VIth century more people knew how to read than in the IVth. The Anglo-Saxons of the VIIth found the system admirable enough. Bede in his Hist. Eccl., an. 630, tells us: "His temporibus, Sigberct . . qui dudum in Gallias dum inimicitias Redualdi fugiens exularet, lavacrum baptismi percepit et patriam reversus ubi regno potitus est, mox ea quae in Galliis bene disposita vidit imitari cupiens, instituit scholam in qua pueri literis erudirentur" (Migne, 95, 144). Bede writing in the VIIIth century, does not seem to have been aware of any change in the situation in Gaul. It is also Hauck's view that thanks to the existence of a certain system of schooling and the subsequent culture resulting therefrom, the Carolingian Renaissance found conditions very favorable for its quick growth[3]. The interesting feature of this situation is that this culture was not like that introduced by Charlemagne as a sort of heterogeneous twig grafted on a more or less wild tree but the natural consequence of internal conditions requiring it; viz: this greater intensity of spiritual life which characterizes Romania during that period. Hauck refers to this condition when he says for instance: "Doch glaube ich nicht zu irren, wenn ich behaupte, dafs das Bewufstsein der Sündigkeit im 7. Jahrhundert energischer und lebhafter war als im vorhergehenden"[4]. It is clear that all

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[1] Migne, 94, 716 ff.

[2] Migne, 96, 839. French Coinage was generally imitated in Kent and Essex cf. Engel and Serrure, Traité de Numis, Paris, 1891, T. 1, p. 173.

[3] A. Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, Leipzig, 1887, Vol. II, p. 162. Roger, L'Enseignement des lettres, p. 95, does not in reality contradict this view.

[4] A. Hauck, op. cit. p. 284.

this is hardly compatible with the state of isolation depicted by Gröber.

In fact to any one reading the texts of the Merovingian period, it is very plain that communications between the different towns and regions are not only very frequent but almost to the point of exaggerated sensitiveness. An incident taking place in one town will almost necessarily involve other towns often far enough distant from one another. The action of the various dramas keeps on moving from one place to another. For instance the election of the Bishop of Clermont (Greg. H. F. XV, 5) entails movements that go from Clermont to Langres, to Dijon, Autun, etc. A certain scandal in a convent of Poitiers (id. IX, 39 ff.) has its after-effects in Paris, Tours, Bordeaux, Autun, Agen, Metz, etc. While Gregory of Tours is having a heated theological discussion in Paris with Chilperic, there comes in Salvius, Bishop of Albi (id. V, 44, 236).

Rodez had a widely known fair. But when the plague breaks out there (an. 650), at once, the people of Cahors, great traders themselves, are prohibited from going: "Nullus de Cadurcino ad istas ferias in Rutenico non praesumat exire . . . nullus emendi aut vendendi aditum paenitus habeat" (MGH. Ep. III, p. 214, ap. Leo Jordan, Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil. 44, 617).

How little segregated were the towns and regions is exemplified by the situation of the bishops of the early part of the VIIIth century, the ease with which they extended their influence over several and distant places, like Savaric who had himself recognized bishop of Orleans, Nevers, Tonnerre, Avallon and Troyes, and was killed by lightning on an expedition against Lyon. At the same time, Luitwin seemed to have united Treves, Rheims and Laon[1].

This same impression of remarkable mobility is given by the chronicles of the VIIth and VIIIth centuries, like for instance, Fredegarius and the Liber Historiae Francorum.

[1] A. Hauck, op. cit. I, p. 366 ff.

Chapter II.

The State of Commerce.

One other sure sign of this great ease and frequency of communications is the state of commerce during the same period: it continues to be very active between the various regions of Romania. We have no reason to believe that the type of merchant that Ausonius' stewart was, always trading and bartering, visiting all places where business could be had, although a greater hustler than the average, did not continue through the whole period until after Charlemagne[1].

Although in the course of the VIIth and VIIIth centuries the industrial towns of Treves, Metz, Rheims, Verdun seem to have lost in business, which, by the way, had remained active during the VIth (Lavisse, 2, 1, p. 200 ff.), this was certainly due to a shifting of industrial production, not to the ruin of the industries themselves, as we shall see later[2]. The proof of it is that commerce which is a sure indication of a proper production and circulation continued to flourish. In fact I would say that it grew in extent and in organization. The Franks opened new routes towards the Northeastern parts of Europe[3]. International commerce throve more than ever. The maritime cities like Marseilles, Arles, Narbonne, continued to carry on a brisk trade[4]. W. Heyd[5] remarks that Marseilles did not suffer from the Frankish conquest. Commerce between Merovingian France and the Christians of Egypt and Syria was very active. Assuredly the most important agents of this trade were the Syrians established in great numbers every-

[1] E. Levasseur, Hist. d. Com. en France, T. 1, p. 14.

[2] Verdun, under the Carolingians became the great slave market for the Moorish south (cf. Zeitschr. f. Ausland, I, III—IV, p. 141—193: Deutsch-Spanische Bez. im Mittelalt. by L. B. Willkomm.

[3] The great disorders of the VIIIth cent. brought about a period of stagnation, but it must have been of relatively short duration for we find that c. 800, Marseilles, Narbonne, Toulouse, Barcelona, are still the great marts of the Levant trade (Theodulfi Carm, I, V, 170) and that Arles and Tours cloth continued to be exported to England and Germany (cf. Pigeonneau, op. cit. p. 73 ff.

[4] Lavisse, 2, 1, p. 203 ff.

[5] W. Heyd, op. cit. 1, p. 23 ff.

where; but as we mentioned above, they were so well mixed with the population, and this speaks for social and linguistic unity, that they were hardly considered as foreigners. At the time of Greg. of Tours, Gaza wine was not rare in France; purses in Phoenician leather were worn; gradually with the development of the silk industry introduced into the eastern empire by Justinian (552), men and women of the Merovingian courts began wearing silk clothing and the custom was established to cover the altars with silk ornaments and to make sacerdotal vestments also with silk, etc.

All this means an extensive international trade, and easy inland communications. The same is evidenced by various facts, for instance the right conceded to the abbey of Corbie in the North of France to levy a yearly contribution of pepper, cinnamon, eard, dates, paper etc. on the custom house of Fos, near Marseilles [1].

How much this trade, therefore commercial traffic in general, penetrated the country is shown by the Formula of Marculfus, I, 11 (MGH., Leg. V, p. 99), in which it appears that an officer of the Merovingian King was entitled to these spices wherever he went (cf. W. Heyd, op. cit. p. 89).

Interesting details are very illuminating: Gregory tells about companies of merchants going to Spain. The trade route by way of the Danube was a very usual one. One Frankish merchant by the name of Samo had been so successful that he had founded a kingdom among the Slavs, very much like the big merchants of the India Company in the XVIIIth century founded empires in India. Later when Frankish merchants were murdered in the Slav regions, the Franks began expeditions against those people just as the Europeans did in China for commercial reasons (Fred. IV, 68).

Speculation in commodities of primary necessity like wheat and wine, which is an indication of active business was carried on very much as it is to-day. A capitulary of the year 809 speaks of these farmers "qui vinum et annonam vendunt antequam colligantur et per hanc occasionem pauperes efficiantur" (MGH. CRF. I, p. 152).

As a good commercial circulation is a first condition to even agricultural prosperity, we will not wonder if the Anglo-Saxon

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[1] The existence of the customhouses themselves was no new development. The Romans had preserved custom lines around Gaul (Quadragesima Galliarum), although they had suppressed those between cities (cf. Pigeonneau, op. cit., T. 1, p. 39).

Greg. of Tours addressing his enemy, the bishop of Nantes who had been heaping abuse upon him says: "O si te habuisset Massilia sacerdotem! numquam naves oleum aut reliquas species detulissent nisi cartam quo maiorem opportunitatem scribendi ab bonos infamandos haberes." The activity of the port of Marseilles is thus a fact of common knowledge; and this bears witness not only to the commerce of Marseilles, but to the inland trade which is evidently its foundation.

Adhelmus writing from Meaux where he was in the VIIIth century, speaks in high terms of the prosperous condition of agriculture in France which he thus characterizes: "Miror quod me tantillum homunculum de famoso et florigero Francorum rure . . ." (Adhel. Ep. IX, Migne, 89).

In one instance in particular there seems to have been great progress in general commerce, and that is through the great development of fairs. There was a fair at Troyes in the fifth century (cf. Sid. Ap. Ep. IV, 4; Pigeonneau, op. cit. p. 62) but the following centuries saw a great extension of what may have been a new step in the organization of international commerce: for instance the creation of the Saint Denis fair in 629 and those of other abbeys like that of Saint Germain des Prés.

The monasteries as live new social institutions, which capacity was infused into them by St. Columban, end of VIth century, very naturally took the lead in this growing branch of business. They organized it very ably: "Une longue durée était accordée à la foire en vue de laisser le temps aux marchands venus de loin, par exemple des ports de Rouen, de Saxe, de Frise, de Lombardie, d'Espagne, de Provence et d'autres régions de s'y rendre"[1]. They obtained the protection of the King: Merchants coming to the fair were exempt of taxation: "omnes neguciantes aut Saxonis vel quascumquelibit nacionis" (Tardif, 44, an. 710). Sometimes however the agents of the king would levy taxes, as for instance, in 753 when the abbot of St. Denis protested that "illi necuciantes vel omnes naciones qui ad ipso mercado advenire solebant pro hac causa ipse mercado defugiebant".

The question of keeping roads open was therefore a vital

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[1] E. Levasseur, op. cit. T. 1, p. 26.

The growth of Paris in function of this continued and uninterrupted development of the international commerce and of the Northern regions is another consequence and proof of it. Of no importance at the time of Tiberius, Paris had grown somewhat more considerable at the time of Julian who liked the place. A century and a half later it was of such consequence that Clovis took up his residence there, building churches quite at a distance from the Seine, on the Montagne Sainte-Geneviève. In the VIth century each of the three sons of Clotar I received a third of the town, so considerable had it become. Although in the IXth century the Normans brought it very low, the very terms used by those who lament her downfall indicate sufficiently the importance and even relative splendor which it had reached. Cf. Adrewald, a monk of St. Benoît sur Loire: "Quid Lutetia Parisiorum nobile caput, resplendens quondam gloria, opibus, fertilitate soli, incolarum quietissima pace, quam non immerito regum divitias et emporium dixero populorum." Lib. mirac. S. Bened. c. 33 ap. Mabillon, A. SS. O. S. B., Paris, 1669, Fol. II, 387. A. Budinsky (Die Universität Paris . . ., Berlin, 1876, p. 4) remarks that Abbon writing about the siege of Paris by the Normans at the end of the IXth cent. continues to call Paris the Queen of Cities.

one and the successors of the Romans understood that perfectly. The Law of the Wisigoths as well as that of the Franks protected the merchants and a council of the year 745 (Migne, 89, 748, XXVII) is very severe against those who will close not only the viam publicam aut lithistratum but even "si quis viam convicinalem vel pastoralem clauserit cum sua lege componat et ipsam viam aperiat".

Thus we see that not only had the Roman trade been kept up but it had grown so that it extended its network of regular commercial relations to countries far beyond the limits of Romania. And this situation lasted until after Charlemagne under whose reign this world-wide traffic flourished extensively: "Sous son règne nous savons que dans le Midi Marseille et Narbonne étaient encore les entrepôts de l'Orient recevant les épices, les aromates, les perles fines, les perles, les soieries, les cotonnades et exportant du blé, du vin, de l'huile, de la laine, du pastel; que dans le Nord Rouen, Quintovich [1], Boulogne, Bruges, étaient des ports fréquentés, que Worms et Mayence étaient des entrepôts de commerce avec les Germains . . . qu'il protégeait les marchands anglo-saxons et italiens" [2].

In fact this commercial and international activity which Charlemagne favored but did not create was such that we see Charlemagne anticipating Napoléon in his hostile measures against England. Charles being irritated against the Anglo-Saxon king Offa closed the continental ports against English ships. But the disastrous consequences that this measure entailed for the French merchants caused the overseer of commerce, Gervold abbot of Fontenelle (786—806) to intervene and to prevail on Charles to rescind this interdiction [3].

The second point that Gröber brings out to wit: that taxes discouraged traffic does not seem therefore to have had such disastrous effects. The duties that trade had to pay and which were numerous enough, theloneos, navigios, portaticos, pontaticos, rivaticos, rotaticos, vultaticos, temoniaticos, cespitaticos, pulveraticos, foraticos, mestaticos, laudaticos, saumaticos, sabitaticos [4] did not any more prevent travelling than do those which we pay nowadays. They were on the contrary a proof that traveling was indulged in. The French proverb still holds: "On ne peigne pas un diable qui n'a pas de cheveux."

The great number and variety of precious objects which the wealthy possessed and which could not possibly have been obtained otherwise than through purchase, and this very often as J. Labarthe

[1] Port which disappeared during the IXth century.
[2] E. Levasseur, op. cit. p. 39.
[3] Pigeonneau, op. cit. p. 74.
[4] Fustel de Coulanges: La Monarchie franque, p. 259, Pardessus Diplom. No. 247 an. 629.

in his Histoire des Arts Industriels pointed out, from the Orient, is another indication of the commercial activity of the period. The shops in front of Notre-Dame must have shown fine displays of precious objects, for Count Leudaste driven out of the Basilica by Chilperic's sergeants, when he passed in front of them boasted that he could buy this or that vase for he still had at home plenty of gold.

In the wills the commercial value of such objects is always given. Take for instance No. 40 of Tardif, in the year 700 at Paris: "Dono tibi canna argentea valente plus minus sol. XXV et a parte mea dono tibi cauco argenteo valente sol. XXX . . . . basilicae Sancti Petri urcio argenteo, valente soledus duodece et fibla aurea gemmata adamanto dari constituo . . . gavata argentea valente sol duodece et cruce aurea valente sol septe . . anolo aureo nigellato valente sol quatuor . . . freno valente sol duodece."

Another important indication of the commercial activity of the period is the great trading in landed property, the great number of exchanges in real estate, which constitute a goodly part of the documents which have been preserved for France and Italy[1] as shown in the collections of Pardessus, Tardif, Muratori, Troia, Archivio Storico Italiano etc.

Also the fact that the possessions of a man were scattered over vast regions is interesting. For instance in Tardif, 59, an. 766, a certain Adalhardo had villas in the country of Amiens, Beauvais, Vendelais etc. The bishop of Turin (Torino) had parishes "in Francorum sitae terminis" (Greg. Epist. IX, CXV, CXVI). Theodolus gives to the abbey of Saint Denis domains situated in the territories of Chambly, Limousin and Beauvaisis (Pardessus, 1, p. 227, No. 241). Bertechramnus bishop of Mans bequeathed to his cathedral more than twenty villas situated in the regions of Le Mans, Bourgogne, Provence, Bordeaux and one house in Paris (Hauck, op. cit. p. 128)[2].

As for the walls around the cities, they certainly did not interfere either with traffic or business or shut the town people in and the rural population out, any more than the walls of Paris have in the 19th century. Most of these walls were built under the Roman Empire and did not hamper the Latinisation of the Gallo-Romans. Let any one read Gregory of Tours' fine description of

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[1] In Spain, owing probably to the Arabic invasions there is no original document of this period, the oldest bearing the date of 857 cf. D. Jesus Muñoz y Rivera: Metodo teorico practico para aprender a leer los codices y documentos españoles de los siglos V al XII, Madrid, 1919, p. 136.

[2] The political aspect of this situation is the custom of giving public functions to the same man in various places, in the same way as the Merovingian kings divided Gaul so that each had possessions in every part of the country (cf. H. F. Bonnell, Die Anfänge des Karol. Hauses, Berlin, 1868, p. 192, 198, 212, etc.).

Dijon (H. F. III, 19), in which his admiration of the walls and the very fertile and opulent country as well as the hills already covered with vinyards giving a most famous wine, and he will get the impression that these walls did not act as a barrier or separation, any more than they would to-day.

Money also was in great use: in fact it is likely that the bartering of one commodity for another in which the Gallo-Romans were famous under the Empire and which the stewart of Ausonius (Vth cent.) still practiced, had receded very much to make the use of money more general during the Merovingian period. This is all the more remarkable since the lack of a money policy on the part of the Frankish kings might have brought on such an excessive confusion that money would have become unpractical; and return to more primitive ways of exchange might have been made. Indeed had commerce been less intense, that is what would have happened. At any rate there should have been such a disorder that business on a more than local basis would have become extremely difficult. We have the names of 884 localities in which money was struck during that time. Yet without official regulations or government policy the money struck was good and the monetary system preserved very well. The money coiners scattered all over the country and forming a corporation and a monopoly which finally Pippin the Short abolished obeyed the royal orders very well: "Man ersieht dies daraus, weil das Münzwesen zur Zeit der Merowinger trotz der Unzahl von Münzstätten nicht jene Zerfahrenheit aufweist, die sich erst vom 10. und 11. Jahrhundert an unter dem Einfluſs des Lehnwesens herausgebildet hat"[1]. And the reason for this remarkable condition of the money situation was, in the words of A. Blanchet and A. Dieudonné in their Manuel de Numismatique française, Paris, 1912, T. 1, p. 183, that during the Merovingian period "si l'autorité royale n'était pas assez forte pour réaliser l'unité des types et la régularité pondérale, la civilisation demeurait assez influente pour que les monnaies, émises dans des ateliers trop nombreux, dussent se rattacher à un système unique, dont les variations les plus importantes sont surtout l'œuvre de la succession des temps". Thus the unity was practically preserved, not only in France but in Italy and Spain also by the very force of commercial intercourse and with but little governmental interference. The Arabs themselves in Spain did not begin to be independent in this respect until the end of the VIIIth century[2].

[1] Dr. A. L. v. Ebengreuth, Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geschichte, München und Berlin, p. 82. The Carolingians finally adopted such a policy by reserving to the State the right to coin money. Cf. MGH. CRF. an. 794, 820. See also Engel-Serrure, op. cit. pp. 195, 198.

[2] Engel and Serrure, op. cit. T. 1, p. 195.

This fundamental unity is therefore the most characteristic feature of the monetary situation under the Merovingians, and is a sure proof of the intensity of circulation and trade in that period, absolutely incompatible with the idea of isolation and stagnation traditionally associated with that period.

A propos of a treasure discovered in Bais (Ille-et-Vilaine) in 1904 which contained 400 Merovingian denari in 321 varieties, E. Martinori, La Moneta, Roma, 1913, p. 103 says: "è da notare che il numero considerevole delle officine o zecchi, ci porta a concludere ad una circolazione molto attiva del numerario e ad un movimento commerciale che si estendeva in tutta la Gallia."

Even facts of a more intimate nature bear indications of an intense circulation. Boniface the Anglo-Saxon Apostle of the Germans, writing to England, says: "Perpaucae enim sunt civitates in Longobardia vel in Francia aut in Gallia, in qua non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum quod scandalum est et turpitudo Ecclesiae vestrae" (Migne, 89, 765). It is a well known fact that these women are an accompaniment of traffic: they follow naturally the routes of travel for pilgrimage or commerce and were supported through these activities.

The epistolary activity of this whole period is equally remarkable. Although practically only letters of kings, popes, bishops, have been preserved they are numerous and varied and show how well these men kept in constant communications with each other (cf. MGH., SRM., T. 2 vita Radegundis II, 10). As there was no regular system, pope Paulus in the VIIIth century complains of the raritas portitorum (Migne, 97, 172), but nevertheless this constant exchange of letters implies frequent and easy relations between the various parts of Romania.

Chapter III.

Colonisation of Romania by Barbarians.

One other element of civil activity that naturally meant great shifting of population and consequently increased movement and communication is the intensive colonisation which takes place during the VI, VII, and VIII[th] centuries.

We must bear in mind that the thorough Latinisation of the Western Roman Empire was due to exactly the same cause. Public ownership of land was superseded by private ownership: the creation of fundi and villae, ancestors of two thirds of the French villages[1]. Besides the influx of great numbers of Romans, the transformation of habits and shifting of population made Latin the natural medium of intercourse, since the old language was not adapted to this new state of affairs and men of various dialects found it easier to employ the more useful speech.

G. Gröber[2] remarks on the great number of new places, villages and towns ending in *-court, -meis, -mesnil, -bourg, -château, -viller, -villard, -ville, -val, -mont,* which date in great part from that period; they are most common in the North and East of France, but unknown only in Aquitania. Also others were derived from a nominal adjective with the germanic suffix *-ing*. These places, he says, were not in general old ones which had changed names. They were new[3]. They were filling in the intervals between the Gallo-Romans villas.

A. Longnon, Geog. p. 32, mentions the fact that in the course of the VII[th] and VIII[th] centuries, the number of pagi or comitatus increased considerably, although the cause of it must not be, he says, sought after in the divisions of the Regnum Francorum. These pagi of second formation are mostly situated north of a line going

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[1] Arbois de Jubainville, Recherches sur la propriété foncière et des noms de lieu habités en France, Paris, 1890, p. 67, 95.

[2] Grundr. p. 424. Cf. A. Longnon: Les noms de lieu de la France, ed. by P. Maréchal & L. Mirot, Paris, 1922, p. 206.

[3] In fact as early as the VII[th] cent. we come upon the very designation which marks this intensive colonisation: Villa nova in the will of St. Bertichrannus (Migne, 80, 394). Also Neuvic, Novus Vicus; Vinneuf, Vicus Novus, etc.

from Mont-Saint-Michel to Lyons. They may be due, he said to the demand for administrative positions by the Franks who might have preferred to be north of this line in territories inhabited by men of their race; or the cause of such an increase might be found in a desire for better administration in the regions where the Frankish kings habitually resided. But in the presence of the other factors just mentioned, is it not almost evident that the increase of these subdivisions (pagi) must be attributed to the great quantity of new settlements in these formerly thinly populated parts?

Although these settlements were partly Germanic, they were so rapidly Romanized that in the early part of the IXth century they were all using Romance speech. This could not have been done except by intense intercourse between all these towns and villages, by a constant shifting of population. This Romanization was not the consequence of purely local relations. There is no reason why one village as such should impose its language on another. As a matter of fact this does not happen. When on the linguistic frontier one village is won over from one language to another, the struggle is not really between these two neighboring villages, but between the linguistic blocs of which these villages are but the advanced posts. Had the Latin language already been dialectalized, no such winning over of the Germanic villages would have taken place, anymore than where local dialects prevail, villages change their own.

Thus in France, the local patois do not gain over each other, although they recede before French. Neither do the Italian dialects. Greek of Southern Italy yielded to the Koinê that was Romance before real dialectalization set in, although after the VIIth century, while the Greek linguistic islands in Calabria and Puglia created perhaps much later, or else maintained through constant intercourse with the Eastern Empire until that later period, have preserved their independence to this day in the midst of dialect-speaking neighbors; they may however quickly succumb to the national language[1]. These dialects enjoy a tenacious life, allowing the coexistence of the most heterogeneous kinds and in the smallest groups, Greek, Catalonian, Albanian. A remarkable case of it is that in California and Alaska live to-day small groups of Italians still speaking Albanian: they are descendents of Albanians who settled in Italy in the XVth century[2].

The existence of the Latin linguistic bloc is therefore an important factor in this case. It is one of the reasons why the

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[1] Budinsky, Ausbreitung der lat. Sprache, pp. 44, 46 (Berlin, 1881).

[2] Communicated by Prof. H. H. Vaughan at the meeting of the Linguistic Society, Chicago, Dec. 1925. Ger. Rohlfs, Zeitschr. f. r. Ph. Phil. 46 (1926), p. 135 f.

Germanic invasions although thorough enough and repeated during four or even five centuries made relatively so little indentation into the Latin linguistic system or into the Latin-speaking territories on the Continent.

That from the point of view of numbers, the region north and east of the Loire could very well have become Germanic is shown by the great number of the new colonies and the number of Germanic names in all walks of life. In regard to the latter fact, A. Giry, Manuel de Diplomatique, p. 356, says: "Il me paraît donc légitime de s'appuyer sur ces données pour rechercher quelle a pu être la proportion des diverses races, dans les différentes régions, dans le clergé ou dans les fonctions publiques et pour suivre le progrès de la fusion des races au profit de l'élément germanique jusqu'à l'époque où la prédominance de celui-ci a effacé en Gaule toute distinction de races (fin du VIII[e] siècle)."

Now it is indeed remarkable that this increasing predominance of the Germanic element was accompanied by the victory, on the linguistic side, of the Latin element. The existence of the Latin bloc or the practically uniform language of Romania was evidently the cause of this linguistic victory in the face of the political and ethnical defeat it underwent then. The statement has been made, that this victory of Latin was due to the higher culture of the inhabitants of the invaded regions[1]. This may have been true to a certain extent, although the difference cannot have been so very great in the V[th] and still less in the following centuries. The quickness of the Barbarians in adapting themselves to the culture of the lands they ruled shows conclusively that the Germans had not lived next door to the Roman Empire without being affected by this proximity[2]. In fact since the fourth century a great many officers in the Roman army were Germans[3]. All along the Rhine in the Merovingian period, we hear of flourishing industries indicating an advanced state of culture.

The principal reason why the Germanic invaders did not affect deeply the Latin speech of their subjects was precisely the existence of that linguistic unity (incidentally a mark of higher culture assuredly), a solid mass which they could not transform and which

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[1] "Wie es immer zu beobachten ist, daſs der Sieger Sprache, Bildung und Kultur den unterjochten Völkern gibt und aufzwingt, wenn es zivilisierter ist als diese, während er im umgekehrten Fall die Sprache und überlegene Kultur der Besiegten adoptiert, wie am deutlichsten am Beispiel der Römer und der barbarischen Germanen der Völkerwanderung zu sehen." Die arabische Sprache in den rom. Ländern: Christ. Seybold, Gröbers Grundriſs I, p. 327.

[2] Inama-Sternegg, Deutsche Wirtschaftsgesch., 1879, T. 1, p. 139.

[3] Constantinople was altogether barbarized says Joann Antiochus, an. 400 (by the complete ascendency of the Gothic party, Hodgkin, Italy and her invaders 2[nd] Ed., T. 2, p. 693, Oxford, 1892.

kept on recruiting force from a central source of power. Isolated dialects would have fallen. Although the Romanized inhabitants of Great Britain were in culture far superior to their Anglo-Saxon invaders, who were, and for centuries, among the most backward of the Germanic peoples, and this in spite of their Latin schools, their separation, as islanders, from the rest of Romania brought about the disappearance of the Latin language in the course of two or three centuries[1]. Superiority of culture could not save them. On the other hand, the manifest superiority of the Arabs in the VIIth and following centuries over the Spaniards[2] in all cultural activities did not prevent the Romance languages from getting the upper hand over the Arabic, because all through the first centuries of the Mussulman conquest the linguistic intercourse with the rest of Romania was very intense. The linguistic bloc resting essentially on unity of faith and social ideals kept the Arabic from definitely reaching the masses. This superiority of culture on the part of the Arabs was such that Dozy could say: "Les rudes Germains adoptèrent la langue et la religion des vaincus, beaucoup plus civilisés qu'eux; les Arabes, au contraire, qui étaient supérieurs aux vaincus leur imposèrent leur langue, et jusqu'à un certain point leur religion." And yet, in spite of this, the triumph of the Arabic was but temporary.

I have emphasized these facts for France alone because it is mostly of France that one is thinking in pointing out to the

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[1] Cf. Alois Pogatscher, Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen, p. 3, 1888.

A parallel fact is the disappearance of Christianity in Africa: "Das Christentum ging in Afrika völlig unter, weil die dortigen Christen in keiner Berührung mit den Christen anderer Länder standen" (Gams, Kirchengeschichte von Spanien, Regensburg, 1876, T. 2, 2, p. 430).

[2] "Die in jeglicher materiellen wie geistigen Kultur, in Kunst und Wissenschaft, nicht bloſs auf dem Schlachtfeld den Abendländern im frühen Mittelalter überlegenen Araber" (Chr. Seybold, op. loc. cit. p. 329).

Notice that colonisation in Germany during that same period, that is to say the creation of thousands of new places and later the extension of Germanic civilisation towards the East (W. Arndt, Ansiedlung und Wanderung deutscher Stämme, Marburg, 1875, p. 241), did not only prevent the formation of new dialects but actually effaced those then in existence (cf. Inama-Sternegg, op. cit. p. 50). This period is characterized linguistically as a "gemeingermanische Zeit" in H. Paul, Grund. p. 597, and as late as the XIIth century the language was so little dialectalized that scholars had assumed the existence of a literary language common to all and independent of the dialects which in their opinion, based on what was to happen later, must then have been much more differentiated. But H. Paul (Mittelhochd. Gramm., Halle, 1881, p. 2) expresses the more probable opinion that if during that period the dialectal differences appear much less prominent than in the XIVth and XVth centuries, it is because they had not yet developed, since they were evidently prevented from doing so by the intense colonisation and creation of new settlements just mentioned.

decisive effects of the Germanic invasions on the culture and language of Rome. But it goes without saying that like phenomena took place in Italy and Spain. The characteristic feature of the invasions is essentially one of colonisation. The Goths and Lombards mingled, intermarried with the Romans, became imbued with their culture and as Villani and Machiavelli remarked long ago, were Lombards only in name. The Romans became warlike again and the Lombards interested in culture. This smoothing out of differences took place also between the parts occupied by the Barbarians and those that were not, or less so (Gaspary, Gesch. der ital. Lit., Strafsburg, 1885—88, p. 3 ff.).

All this evidently meant intercommunication of the most active kind with the natural consequence that such a condition could hardly be favorable to the production of dialects.

Chapter IV.

Christianization.

Yet this linguistic unity of Romania which we thus emphasize was not due solely to the causes which we have enumerated so far. They were at best auxiliary causes. The real foundation of the linguistic unity in Romania through the whole Merovingian period was the spiritual unity which Gröber in the statement quoted above completely disregards.

That the Merovingian period was inferior, from the purely literary point of view is of little importance. As Hauck (op. loc. cit. p. 217) remarks very justly: "Es ist ein Vorurteil, dafs man die Summe idealer Interessen, die in einer gewissen Zeit vorhanden sind, an der Blüte der Literatur messen könne." The fact that no great works of literature, no high grade of intellectual activities are to be met with, is no objection to the existence of this spiritual unity of Romania. Sittl himself blamed Eyssenhardt[1] who claimed that Latin had conquered the world through its literature; it was, he said, through Rome's colonists and soldiers.

It is also forgotten that the purely political unity of the late Roman Empire was of lesser importance than some others in bringing about a relative identity of spiritual life and consequently of language between the various regions. From the time of Constantine's conversion to Christianity in the first quarter of the IVth century, the different parts of the empire are brought together in a new sort of relation which must outweigh in importance the purely political one. The aggressive movement against paganism, the evolution of the organization of church government throughout the empire, the gradual taking over of civil and political administration by the dignitaries of the Church, the growth and extent of monasticism spreading all over the Christian world, the immediate substitution of new sanctuaries of even more drawing power to the old pagan ones fallen into disuse, Jerusalem to Delphi for instance, all these various and profound transformations ex-

[1] Lokal verschieden. p. 45. However thus expressed Sittl's explanation remains imperfect and almost verbal.

tending from the IVth to the VIIIth century brought about a renewed and perhaps more diversified circulation of people and ideas, the very foundation of linguistic unity.

The cessation of just one factor in the third quarter of the Vth century cannot have played as big a part as it would have done in the Ist or IInd century of the Christian era. In fact this factor was practically nothing, according to the famous expression of Gaspary (op. loc. cit. p. 1): "Als die germanischen Stämme dem römischen Reich ein Ende machten, war es nur ein Schatten, welchen sie zerstörten."

Linguistic conquest is not to be achieved or maintained by commerce alone or by the spread of high culture. The Phenicians and the Greeks made in reality very little progress in that direction, although the former were great traders and the latter both great traders and representatives of what is highest in the realm of culture[1]. The Arabs spread their language from the Pacific to the Atlantic, not through their higher culture but through their religion, that is to say through their social work. Religion is indeed social work "par excellence". The spread of Latin under the Romans had been due to the social transformation that Romanisation effected in the former barbarians, making them Cives Romani with all the spiritual and social value that such a title gave them[2]. Latin was the badge and means of this elevation. When the Latin form of Christianity superseded the Roman Empire in the West, the word Romanus became the synonym of Christianus, while the social transformation which the Roman political system had been working automatically on the people of Romania continued in the shape of Christianization in a deeper and more thorough manner[3].

It is precisely when the Empire ceases to be that this spread of Christianity assumes a more systematic form. From Christian Rome powerful currents set out anew to conquer the Roman world spiritually, therefore linguistically. This intensive social work is carried on in Italy, Spain and Gaul during the VIth, VIIth, and VIIIth centuries in two different ways. First by the constitution of the Roman hierarchy which gradually elevated the bishop of Rome to be the effective supreme head of the Christian world in the spiritual sphere. And this is an accomplished fact by the IXth century. Meanwhile the bishops of the various towns had been assuming more and more political and civil functions, while

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[1] Although Greek became a sort of universal auxiliary language it does not compare with Latin in permanent achievement.

[2] Cf. the effects of Americanization in the United States.

[3] Gregorovius has pointed out the great difference between the energizing power of the Latin Church and the Greek of Byzantium which lacked the creative social principle possessed by the Latin Church

developing their religious ones, creating channels to the smallest hamlets through which Roman influence, both spiritual and linguistic, could permeate. In the words of Gregorovius[1]: "The Pope had meanwhile raised the structure of the Roman hierarchy. The gradual growth and rise of the spiritual power upon the ruins of the ancient state under the most difficult conditions must for ever excite the wonder of mankind as one of the greatest transformations in the record of history."

This thorough Christianization of Romania is marked by the intense activity of the bishops who organize the real spirit and body of the church over the corpse of the empire: "D'un bout à l'autre de la Gaule, les évêques se visitent, s'écrivent, ils se tiennent en communion d'idées, de sentiment, ils ont les mêmes intérêts, ils forment les mêmes vœux. Au milieu des guerres, des ruines, des révolutions, l'Église seule n'a pas cessé de grandir: sa force est faite de toutes les faiblesses, de toutes les détresses de ce temps: elle pousse ses racines au plus profond des couches populaires" (Lavisse, 2, 1, p. 93).

The action of Saint German of Auxerre, bishop of Auxerre going to Ravenna in 448 to beg help from the Emperor to save Armorica from the Celtic invasion is both typical and symbolical: typical of the manifold activity and social growth of the bishops, symbolical because Armorica being lost to the Empire, to christianity, was also going to be lost to Latin: saving Armorica for Romania would also have saved it for Romance.

This organic unity of the Christian world superseding that of the Roman Empire is both cause and effect of the calling together of the numerous councils which take place in Rome, Lyons, Taragon, Orleans, Barcelona, Valence, Vezon, Carpentras, Clermont, Toul, Eau, Paris, Aquileia, Arles, Toledo, Chalon-sur-Saone, Sens, Nantes, Bordeaux, Saint-Jean-de-Losne, etc., in which matters of discipline of common import, are the principal subject, by contrast with the Oriental Councils, where dogmatic questions were debated.

These councils whose influence is extended to the smallest hamlets by synods of the clergy and visits which the various pastors of the remotest districts must pay regularly to the bishops are the periodical concentrations of energy which accomplish this powerful social, therefore linguistic, transformation. So while at the end of the VIth century, we still hear of Celtic being spoken in Gaul, by the VIIth, it has been completely eliminated by Latin:

(Hist. of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages, T. 2, p. 1; Engl. transl. by A. Hamilton, London, 1894).

[1] Op. cit. T. 2, p. 3. Christentum und Kirche West-Europas im Mittelalter (Karl Müller in: Hinneberg, Die Kultur der Gegenwart, Geschichte der christlichen Religion, p. 194).

"Nicht Rom, sondern die Kirche hat die Romanisierung Galliens vollendet" says Hauck, op. cit. p. 13[1].

And E. Griera in Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil., 45, p. 216, 1925 will say the same for Spain: "Cal tenir en compte que la dominació romana mai arribà a establir una unitat a Espanya: L'Església, mès que cap altra institució fou el veicle de la propagació de la llengua llatina a la peninsula." On the other hand, although, as was said above, the profound causes for differentiation are anterior to the Romans, and were potentially there during the Latin period, we cannot believe that the Roman and the Visigothic Church of Spain were decisive factors in the actual separation of the individual Romance languages in the peninsula. During all the pre-Carolingian period, the influence of the Church was essentially general, directed towards the accomplishment of a uniform work all over Romania, creating no special cultural centers: it was bent on the complete "depaganization" of the people. Whatever divergent and localized currents of philosophy and culture may have found their way to the upper strata of the population, their influence did not permeate down so as to affect the vulgar tongue to any great extent. Griera himself recognizes that it is the "Reconquesta (que) va assenyalar d'una manera definitiva i perdurable les fronteras que encara podem seguir avui a la ralla d'Aragó".

The history of the councils shows how this "depaganizition" is done. For instance, the 11th canon of the Council of Narbon, in 589 (Mansi, IX, 1066), forbids the ordination of deacons who cannot read; for what good is a deacon in a church if he does not read to the people to edify them. The 14th canon of the council of Reims, 624—5, aims at repressing those who still practice pagan rites. So does the 12th canon of the Roman council of 721.

The 6th canon of the council of Toledo, 646, orders all priests of the country of Toledo to come and spend a month yearly at Toledo, but not during wheat or grape harvests. Questions of popular interest, like that of pictures in churches are discussed and decided by Gregory in his letters v. g. to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, and in subsequent councils like that of Gentilly, 767, Latran, 769, and later even by Charlemagne in his Capitula de Imaginibus. Rome, of course is the center of inspiration of all these councils, over eighty in Gaul alone, between the years 500 and 750, of which we have the records, and not counting provincial synods. One must read the letters of the Popes to all parts of Christendom to realize what an impulse came from Rome. Of course, those of Gregory the Great (T. 1 and 2 of the MGH., Ep.) are the most

[1] Budinsky, Ausbreit., p. 114 ff. Celtic was still spoken in the time of Greg. of Tours and Fortunatus, second half of the VIth century.

remarkable; but they only offer us a superior specimen of Rome's part in this immense undertaking.

It must be born in mind also that this influence which radiates from Rome is not a personal one; it is that of a natural center to its dependent parts. All through the Merovingian period for instance the popes played no political part in Gaul. Their political influence in that country does not begin until the middle of the VIIIth century. Even their direct intercourse with the Gallo-Roman or Frankish clergy ceases after 613 when for the last time the bishop of Arles received the pallium. And yet Rome remains virtually the capital of the Occident; pilgrimages there increase steadily and whenever the popes shall be ready to use this natural prestige (and the occasion will arise with the advent of the Carolingians) they will have but to seize this power; it will be there, they will not have to create it. In other words it is not the influence of a clever or able system; it is organic; it is due to the existence of Romania with its natural head Rome. Hauck (op. cit. T. 1, p. 381) could say: "Man kann die Geschichte der fränkischen Kirche bis zum Beginne des 8. Jahrhunderts verfolgen, ohne dafs man veranlafst wäre, nach ihrem Verhältnis zu Rom zu fragen. Rom hat kein Verdienst und keine Schuld an dem, was im fränkischen Reich in kirchlicher Hinsicht geschah . . . Die religiöse Anschauung wie die kirchliche Verfassung gestaltete sich im fränkischen Reiche ohne jede Einwirkung von aufsen. Nicht als Glied einer Universalkirche, sondern als Landeskirche konstituierte sich die fränkische Kirche: der König war für sie wichtiger als der Papst." And yet the organic Roman Catholic growth of the Church was just as real in Gaul as it was in England[1].

The work of thorough Christianization, of substituting new thoughts, new ideals, new habits, in the common man, thus emanating from Rome and impressed through the councils on the bishops and priests and extending to the lower strata of the population, is best exemplified perhaps by the activity of a man like Saint Eloi (Eligius), the former goldsmith of Dagobert in the middle of the VIIth century (Hauck, op. cit. p. 288). Eloi's sermons and the reminiscences of his friend Saint Ouen (Audoenus), show him ardent at this work. He insists that the shop keeper be honest

[1] It was the continuation and intensification of this organic unity which characterized the development of Christianity from the first and which is so well expressed in the words of Saint Irenaeus of Lyons lib. V adv. Haer.: "Neither the churches of Germany, nor those of Spain, nor of Gaul, nor of the Orient, or of Egypt, or of Lybia or of the central world teach differently" (ap. Gams, Gesch. T. 1, p. 228). The heart of orthodoxy had probably been Asia Minor in the IVth century; in the Merovingian period it was Rome, but it was not due to a system or to a person, but to a converging of forces making for the highest spiritual unity and testifying to its existence at the same time.

"sit statera justa, justus modius, aequsque sextarius . . . neque usuras pro fenerata pecunia a quocum exigatis"[1]. "Nullus Christianus ad fana, vel ad petras, vel ad fontes, vel ad arbores, vel ad cellas, vel per trivia, luminaria faciat, nullus ad colla vel hominis vel . . . animalis ligamina dependere praesumat, etiamsi a clericis fiant et si dicatur quod res sancta sit et lectiones divinas conteneat"[2]. One sees that Eloi is carrying out the canons of the councils of France, Italy and Spain, which pursue the same object. He tells his flock: "Pedum similitudines quos per via ponunt fieri vetate et ubi inveneritis igni cremate." "Nullus in Kalendis Januarii . . . mensas super noctem componat neque strenas aut bibitiones superfluas exerceat . . . nullus in festivitate sancti Johannis . . . vallationes vel saltationes aut caraulas . . . nullus diem Jovis . . . nec in Maio . . . in otio observet."

In this social reform at which he works indefatigably, we see how the Church adapts such pagan rites as she cannot or will not eradicate, like this feast of the Purification, Feb. 2, Candlemas, which used to be a pagan feast in honor of Pluto, he tells his people, and which the Christians have turned into a glorification of the Virgin[3].

At the council of Orléans (638—9), he confounds a monothelitic heretic who had come "a partibus transmarinis" to Autun where he corrupted the crowds[4]. The sentence of condemnation was read in all the towns; the heretic himself was driven from Gaul. At the same time, in Africa and Italy they were condemning that same heresy.

This work of Christianization of the common man goes on all over Romania during those centuries: it starts from the same source, is accomplished by the same means and is probably the greatest agent of linguistic unity that can be imagined.

In this connection, Traube's remark in his Einf. in die Phil. des Mittelalt., München, 1911, p. 50 seems quite pertinent, that if a popular language had existed in Romania by the side of Latin, the Church would have used it, although, through an evident contradiction, Traube will admit, for as early as the VIth century, the existence of separate Romance languages.

But this is not the only way by which Romania is kept together in an absorbing work of common inspiration; at that same period

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[1] It is interesting to notice that already in the VIIth century, Eloi had the conception of usura that will become the legal one in the beginning of the IXth. Cf. Leo Jordan, Komm. zur Reichenau Gloss, Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil. 43, 766.

[2] Migne, T. 87, 527, cf. Duchesne, Origine du culte chrétien, p. 263; MGH., SRM., T. 4. Predicatio Eligii IX, 9.

[3] Cf. A. Graf, Demonologia di Dante, in Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo, T. 2, p. 86, Turin, 1893.

[4] Hefélé, 5, T. 3, 1, p. 397.

when political Rome has gone down to nothing, when her military forces recalled from the frontiers can hardly suffice to defend her own walls, religious Rome richer in conquering spirit than ever, sends her armies of Benedictine monks to complete the work of the bishops and the priests. To quote again Gregorovius (op. cit. p. 11): "The order of the Benedictines spread rapidly over the West (from Monte Cassino, after 540). Spain, Gaul, Italy, England and after the eighth century Germany, became filled with their monasteries. The Roman monks barefooted, the cord around their loins fearlessly traversed as conquerors those districts of the Ultime Thule and the wildest regions of the West which the consuls of old had with difficulty vanquished at the head of their legions."

In the course of the VIth century eighty new monasteries were erected in the valleys of the Saone and the Rhone; ninety-four between the Pyrenees and the Loire; fifty-four between the Loire and the Vosges, ten between the Vosges and the Rhine[1].

In Spain it was the same: "It is certain that every province and canton had soon its monastery", and naturally still more so in Italy. This spreading of the Benedictine monks continued in the VIIth century when we are told that "Walberti tempore per Galliarum provincias agmina monachorum et sacrarum virginum examina non solum per agros villas vicosque atque castella verum etiam per eremi vastitatem ex regula duntaxat Benedicti et Columbani pullulare coeperunt cum ante illud tempus pauca illis reperirentur locis"[2].

From the important convents like Luxeuil or Jumièges, new branches were sent out. The monks of Jumièges carried on commerce and navigation. There were 900 monks and 1500 servants[3].

And this must help us to realize the significance of the foundation of a monastery. It did not mean simply that a certain number of monks built a convent as is done in modern time. It meant the creation of a new colonization center, to which flocked, not only people from the surrounding country but from everywhere, vivifying their spiritual and social life and bringing it in harmony and accord with the rest of the Christian world.

It is precisely at this period that the paramount influence of Columban of Luxeuil completed the work of Benedict, in taking the

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[1] Montalembert, The Monks of the West, Eng. Transl. Edinburgh and London, 1861, T. 2, p. 240 ff.

[2] Vita S. Salab. in Acta SS. Ord. Ben. S. II, T. 2, p. 407.

[3] These servants are treated in a way which is very favorable to linguistic unity. Even as late as 817, in the Cap. Mon. (MGH., CRF. 1, p. 345), we read: "Ut servitores non ad unam mensam sed in proprios locos post refectionem fratrum reficiant quibus eadem lectio quae fratribus recitata est legatur." "Sedentes ad mensam taceant et animam lectioni intendant." S. Donati Vesont. Epis. Reg. ad Virg., Migne, 87, XXXIII (2nd half of the VIIth century).

monks out of their antisocial seclusion and making them leaders of the communities in the midst of which they lived, whether the latter existed before the foundation of the monasteries or grew around them [1].

The linguistic influence represented by this spiritual work, necessarily done uniformly everywhere by men who belonged to Romania only and not to any locality, cannot be overestimated. It will be observed that the monks took up the work at the very time when the secular clergy weakened by its disorders were neglecting their duty. They thus became the effective leaders of the Christian body, that is to say the inspirators of constantly growing numbers of its activities. We have seen above how efficient they were, not only in agriculture but in commerce also, in which they used and extended its latest characteristic form: the fair. In church administration, it was the same. Luxeuil for instance became a nursery of abbots and bishops [2].

The foundation of so many monasteries is nothing else than an aspect of this fever of colonization which characterizes the whole Merovingian period: "C'est par milliers que se chiffrent sur la carte de France les noms de lieux d'origine religieuse" (Lavisse, 2, 1, p. 237. Cf. A. Longnon, Les noms de lieu . . . P. Maréchal et L. Mirot). This new sort of colonization is hardly compatible with dialectalization, any more than the colonization of Western America from New England has been conducive to the formation of real dialects . . "Erfahrungsgemäfs ist Kolonisation, ist flottante Bevölkerung der Sprachveränderung ungünstig. Die Mischung verschiedener Elemente einer an sich zusammengehörigen Sprachgemeinschaft bringt es mit sich, daſs die da und dort aufstehenden Neuerungen und Differenzierungen wieder ausgeglichen werden. Daher haben wir die groſse sprachliche Einheit in den romanischen und germanischen Kolonialgebieten Süd- und Nordamerikas, daher die relative Einheit der Sprache in dem groſsen Römerreich noch im ersten Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung" [3].

This is admirably stated; but Prof. Meyer-Lübke will have to admit that this condition making for linguistic unity was still more

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[1] Cf. Hauck, op. cit. p. 284: "Columba ist deshalb groſs, weil er, obwohl Mönch, nicht für die Mönche allein lebte . . wie Columba fühlten sich seine Schüler verpflichtet, an den Christen zu arbeiten, unter denen sie lebten."

[2] In the same way as monachism affected every element of life of society, it was recruited from every class (cf. Isid. Eccl. Off. II, Migne, 83, 801). Charlemagne restricted this at least in regard to his own domain: "De servis propriis vel ancillis ut non amplius tundantur vel velentur nisi secundum mensuram et ubi satisfiat et villae non sint desolate" (Migne, 97, 284).

[3] Das Katalanische, p. 182 (1925).

The reconquest of Spain over the Arabs was a sort of colonisation with the natural consequence of the reduction of the Spanish dialects, so that they are much more similar to each other than are the French or Italian dialects. (Cf. Gott. Baist, Spanisch in Gröbers Grundriſs [2], p. 879.)

potent in the Merovingian period than it had ever been in the first century of the Christian era. From a linguistic point of view, this great monastic colonization served evidently to preserve that relative unity of speech which had characterized Vulgar Latin under the empire and which still characterized it now, the causes making for unity being in the Merovingian period still stronger than before.

So active and thorough was this work of organization of the Church that it was accompanied by a progressive unification of liturgy into great regional groups tending themselves to become amalgamated into one universal. This grew naturally and spontaneously and was not due to the will of an individual or a group to impose its way on all the others. For liturgy is but the form of worship and was naturally adapting itself to the evolving conditions of the Christian world. So far was society from breaking down into separate parts that all its operations bear a character of progressive enlargement and extension[1].

This Christianization of the Romans is the very cause of the extraordinary development of a new literary genre: the lives of the saints. Their spirit best exemplified in the lives written by Gregory of Tours, Fortunatus, Audoenus, is one of pure proselytism and this character remains attached to them to the end of the Merovingian period. Such lives fill several volumes of the MGH., SRM., of the Acta SS. Ord. Ben., saec. II, III, IV, and the Bollandists and Migne's Patrologia Latina. Their authors mean to give to the common man a substitute for his superstitions, his belief in magical arts and powers, his pagan legends; they create a Christian mystic world to expel from his heart heathen mythology.

Their literary importance has been duly emphasized by Ebert, but their social importance is still greater and this means a linguistic one: they are really and absolutely popular literature of the plainest sort. A man like Gregory of Tours who wrote a number of them with the stories of their miracles, has no other

[1] Liturgy which is to-day a more or less esoteric part of religion concerned then directly the life of the common Christian for whose benefit it was intended. Thus says the Council of Agde (Agathensis): "Cum officia divina non magis ad clericorum pensum quam ad fidelium exempla instituta sint, non parum intererat ut non solum in cathedralibus, sed etiam in parochialibus aliisque ecclesiis celebrarentur quatenusque per ecclesiae cujusque facultates id liceret" (Mabillon, De cursu gallicanno, Migne, 72, 408). The object was often very clear: "Dans les documents du rite gallican, la circoncision apparaît seule et d'assez bonne heure au concile de Tours 567 . . . Du reste dans les pays Gallicans, il y avait à ce moment de l'année un jeûne solennel institué pour détourner les fidèles des fêtes carnavalesques qui se célébraient le 1er janvier" (Duchesne, Origine du culte chrétien, p. 263). This urge towards unification is the cause of such canons as this (2nd) of the fourth council of Toledo: "ut unus ordo orandi atque psallendi per omnem Hispaniam et Galliam conservaretur . . . (Migne, 72, 391), or the first canon of the council of Braga which aims at the same result.

object in view than the edification of the people. He tells us himself in his preface to the life of Saint Martin that he hesitated about writing at all because of his ignorance of letters. But one day in the basilica of Saint Martin his mother appeared to him in a vision, asking him why he did not relate the saints' miracles. Upon his giving the reason that he was "inops litteris et tam admirandas virtutes stultus et idiota non audeam promulgare", she answered that precisely because he was a man of plain culture and speech, he was the very person to be understood by the people and therefore naturally indicated to write such wonders.

The bulk of this literature is essentially Gallo-Roman and we shall see the reason for it later. These lives of the saints were of course read in the churches: such a statement carries no great force with us for whom the church is but one of the many places where we spend our leisure hours. But the church of that period, even more important to the people than it became later in the Middle Ages, was more and more the home of their entire spiritual life: it supplied them with recreation, thoughts, sentiments, hope, fear, rules of conduct of all description, literature in the fullest sense of the word. The lives of the saints became to them what the chansons de geste will be to a later age. They occupied their imagination and their hearts in the same way. They are the real epic poetry of the time. In fact if the heroes of the Chansons de geste could fill the soul of the mediaeval man, they could not help him directly, or only to a limited extent. But the Saints of the Merovingian period were not only heroes of marvellous achievements but their power was still intact: they could still do after their death as much as during their lifetime, especially if some of their relics were at hand. Besides, in that period, no great contemporary enthusiasm or admiration competed with the wonder they inspired.

Although this state of affairs partly continued during the Middle Ages and indeed, it is still existent to-day, the saints then shared with others the privilege of interesting mankind: not so during the Merovingian period. It is useless to add that, although these lives may have been corrected later superficially, they were, on the whole, told in the same words that we read them in to-day; they helped to make the speech uniform and in a natural and constant correspondance with the written language: from one end of the country to the other these stories were repeated in practically the same text. And if, as we shall see later, Rome, meaning the papal city, did not approve of this practice for her own use (Mabillon, de cursu gallic. Migne, 72, 385), this disapproval had no effect beyond the Roman walls and was due to social reasons which we will attempt to analyze further on.

Chapter V.

Pilgrimages.

This manifold intellectual and social activity, working in the body spiritual of Romania like the incessant discharges of nervous fluid through an organism, is completed and intensified by centripetal movements which are the striking proof of the reality and power of this moral and intellectual unity of Romania and of the Western Christian world, its emanation.

Precisely in the middle of the Merovingian period, around the year 650, a sort of counter-current set in, which was, so to speak, the proof of the genuineness of the operation. From Rome, right after the fall of the Roman Empire, had gone out this powerful movement through Romania; a century and a half afterwards came from the provinces the answer in the form of pilgrimages to Rome.

Pilgrimages to Jerusalem had begun as early as Constantine in the first quarter of the fourth century, but the pilgrimages to Rome in the VIIth and VIIIth centuries are of a different character. The pilgrims are of course very desirous of venerating the tombs of Peter and Paul and men come even from Persia to do so. But what drew the Christians to Rome most, what still draws them to-day, although to a lesser extent and especially perhaps with a diminished intensity of faith, was the living representative of Peter and of God: the Pope.

In the space of one hundred and fifty years (500—650), Rome and the Popes had acted so powerfully on the provinces that the people of the latter naturally felt attracted to them as to their living magnetic pole. There is no stronger evidence that all this Christianization of the Roman provinces during the Merovingian period had been directly or indirectly the work of Rome than this return which the people gave her for the benefits conferred on them[1].

[1] The pilgrimage took about fifty days from Paris (A. Graf: Roma nella mem. e n. immag. . . . 1886, p. 49). Very soon a system of measures were taken for the reception of these pilgrims along the roads. Pope Adrian writes in 784 about a certain monasterium . . .

The importance of this pilgrimage movement is evidently very great.

We cannot refrain from quoting Gregorovius again: "(After 650), the city became yearly thronged with thousands of pilgrims from the distant lands of Gaul, Spain and Britain. Rome had again become the desire of nations . . . No sooner did these pilgrims arrive within sight of Rome than they threw themselves on their knees as before an Eden of Bliss; singing hymns they entered the city of their dreams, sought the houses for the pilgrims and there found shelter and countrymen who spoke their own tongue and acted as guides on their visits to the churches and catacombs . . . Returning home, they became so many missionaries of the faith, and spreading abroad marvellous accounts of the sacred city[1], inflamed the longing of others and were thus instrumental in uniting West and North with Rome and binding mankind more effectually than political ties ever could have done, to the Mother of Nations" (op. loc. cit.).

The sentence in this graphic account of the situation in which Gregorovius makes the pilgrims seek their countrymen speaking their own tongue refers only to those of Germanic speech. It is perfectly evident that neither the Gallo-Romans nor the Spaniards needed to find countrymen speaking their own tongue, and Gregorovius has, of course, no documents to that effect, Not so the Anglo-Saxons who only spoke Saxon. It is quite natural that this peculiar linguistic situation of the English should be generalized by Gregorivius for they gave a powerful impetus to the pilgrimages to Rome[2]. They had practically no place of pilgrimage in their own island, like for instance the Gallo-Romans who had Tours, to which in the VIth century even Italians like Venantius Fortunatus went to venerate Saint Martin's tomb. So they took to the Roman pilgrimage with undivided ardour. Besides, to the pope alone had their conversion been due.

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qui pons in Calligata una cum hospitalibus qui per calles Alpium siti sunt pro peregrinorum susceptione (Migne, 98, 370, Ep. LXXXI).

[1] Of course there was disillusion in some cases especially with the Germans, ca. 750. Boniface complains to Pope Zacharias that some priests of Rome had given permission to a man to marry his uncle's widow (quae) "velata fuit et iterum abjecto velamine maritata", whence great scandal in Germany. Also what some Germans saw in Rome "juxta eclesiam in die vel nocte quando Kal. Januarii intrant, paganorum consuetudine choros ducere per plateas et acclamationes ritu gentilium et cantationes sacrilegas celebrare . ." Migne, 89, 746.

[2] King Offa started the collection called Peter's pence to facilitate the pilgrimages to Rome (V. Ranke, Die römischen Päpste [6], T. 1, p. 12). English and Franks must have spoken nearly the same language, for Greg. wrote the Frankish kings to let his missionary for England, Augustine, have some priests of their race to act as interpreters with the Saxons. (Cf. W. Hunt, The English Church, London, 1899, T. 1, p. 19.)

Budinsky (op. cit. p. 54) has remarked that the Latinisation of the Ligurians, along the Mediterranean shore must have been more rapid than elsewhere, since their territory was constantly crossed by the Roman armies, traders, officials, travelers, going from Italy to the Narbonensis and Spain. We must admit that the pilgrimages contributed their share to the maintenance of the spiritual unity of Romania and of the *Koinê,* its linguistic expression.

Chapter VI.

Unity of Romania.

We could have pursued this exposé in greater detail. Yet what we said is enough to remind us that these new and unifying movements in Romania which we have but indicated, and which extend from the fall of the Roman Empire until after Charlemagne's death more than offset the breaking down of the purely political ties which the invasions of the barbarians brought about. It must be born in mind that this political empire had, according to Gaspary's expression become a mere shadow.

The continuation of the ordinary civil life of Romania as indicated by the flourishing state of international trade and the intensification of the social and religious work of the Church getting its impulse from Rome and sending its ramifications into the smallest hamlets of the country, the active colonization both civil and religious, increased that relative linguistic unity already established by the social action of the Roman Empire. This went on through the whole Merovingian period.

It might perhaps be asked why, if Christianization had this effect on the language of Romania, it did not do the same for the Anglo-Saxons and the Germans. The reason is that in England and Germany, Christianization was necessarily carried on in the Germanic languages[1]. Gregory the Great only sent a small body of Romans under Augustine. This nucleus formed and instructed the Anglo-Saxons who became bishops, priests and monks, and in the space of one hundred and fifty years achieved this great work. Then the Anglo-Saxons in their turn sent missionaries, Boniface, Lullus etc. to convert the Germans. Also the conversion of the Germans and Anglo-Saxons seems to have been an easier matter.

[1] "Presbyteri . . . ut symbolum fidei ac dominicam orationem sed et sacrosancta quoque verba quae in missae celebratione et officio baptismi solemniter dicuntur, interpretari atque exponere posse propria lingua qui nesciant discant" (Council of Cloveshoe, 747, Mansi, XII, col. 398, can. 10). "Nullus sit presbyter qui in ipsa lingua qua nati sunt baptizandos, abrenunciationes vel confessiones aperte interrogare non studeat" (Council of Leptine, 741, Mansi, XII, col. 385).

It was done by thousands at a time. And since they had been wandering so much, their paganism may not have been so intimately associated with the land, trees, springs, mountains as was the case with the country-people of Romania. We have mentioned the fact that Gregory the Great had to use the rod to convert pagan peasants right near Rome, leaving out of consideration those of Sardinia and Sicily, and this after five centuries of predication and three centuries of triumphant Christianity. And what is more, when converted, all those old associations, fostered by ages of highly cultured paganism, had to be destroyed or transformed.

As for these constants movements back and forth through Romania, we must not suppose that, because they were slower than those of to-day, they were less effective, as Gröber seems to imply [1]. Distances between inhabited places were great, but they were less great under the Merovingians, as we have already remarked, than under the Empire; and that had not prevented then the creation of a relative linguistic unity. For the formation of a number approximating probably eight thousand new places in France alone [2], must have meant an important reduction of such vacant tracts.

If, on the other hand, modern facilities of travelling were lacking, they had also been lacking during the Roman Empire. Besides, our present facilities do not necessarily make for better real spiritual communications. As Professor Levy-Brühl remarks in his book on Germany, there was a more effective European spirit in the XVIIIth century with relatively poor means of communications than there is now in the XXth. People travelling from place to place got really acquainted with the inhabitants of the regions through which they passed. They could not help it. To-day, travellers speed through vast extents of territory; they do indeed go around the world but without having perhaps exchanged ideas with any but their own kind and people.

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[1] Die romanische Sprache, ihre Einteilung und äuſsere Geschichte, p. 415 of Grundriſs I, 1888.

[2] There are thousand of places of religious origin (Lavisse, 2, 1, p. 237). And on the other hand, the villas or castella of Merovingian origin, according to their endings as mentioned above, rise up to over four thousand. And although it cannot be ascertained that they were all founded at that time, it is safe to assume that the majority was (cf. Fustel de Coulanges, L. Alleu, p. 276: "à partir du VII^{e} siècle . . . au lieu d'employer le suffixe romain *-acus*, on préfère ajouter au nom d'homme le mot *-villa, -villare* ou *curtis*") first, because it is not until the XIth century that another important movement of colonization takes place, and most of these names are found in documents before that period; secondly, because the names of that formation appear in such great numbers in the documents of the Merovingian period that it stamps the places with a sort of certificate of birth. The same practice may have continued in later times, but evidently only to a limited extent.

The slow journeying of the Merovingian period[1], with the intensive movement of people going on then, was more favorable to thorough linguistic unity than is our railroad or automobile travelling of to-day. Especially as the intense spiritual activity, perhaps of a naive and elementary order but none the less ardent, provided ever new and interesting subjects of intercourse with absolutely everybody, which is quite different from what it is to-day.

Even later when that linguistic unity had been broken and only one part of this movement of people continued or was resumed actively, to wit, pilgrimages, they were sufficient to spread all over Europe the newly born French literature. Not only did the French pilgrims enjoy their chansons de geste but the people of the places through which they went learned to know and enjoy them; the pilgrims from other countries carried them back to their homes. These pilgrimages did not in truth create unity of language but at least parallelism of linguistic development and unity of literature. They made French an almost living language in Germany, and brought about the creation of a somewhat artificial dialect: Franco-Italian[2].

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[1] It was slow evidently. Augustine and his forty Roman monks (ca. 600) took practically a whole year to traverse France. According to H. K. Mann (op. cit. T. I, p. 129), it took three months to go to Ravenna from Constantinople and back, on account of the stops made at various ports of call on the way. We have already seen that the pilgrimage to Rome from Paris took about fifty days (A. Graf, Roma . . . p. 49).

[2] We cannot admit however that this Franco-Italian dialect had no real existence, i. e. was not made to be understood, as Prof. Bédier seems to imply (Ep. franc. T. 2, p. 224). His interpretation of the Latin letter in verse of Lovato de Lovatis which he quotes and which tells of the jongleur singing in a deformed French the Carolingian epic to an Italian crowd does not appear justified:

> Karoleas acies et gallica gesta boantem
> Cantorem aspicio: pendet plebecula circum
> Auribus arrectis: illam suus allecit Orpheus.
> Ausculto tacitus: Francorum dedita linguae
> Carmina barbarico passim deformat hiatu
> Tramite nullo suo, nulli innitentia penso
> Ad libitum volvens. Vulgo tamen illa placebant.

M. Bédier says: "Ce pauvre hère faisait de son mieux; s'il avait su manier le 'bel françois' de Chrétien de Troyes et de Raoul de Houdens, il aurait sans doute préféré ce langage, mais les petites gens qui l'écoutaient ne l'eussent compris ni plus ni moins . ." The Latin poet does not say that; he tells us that the people listened, that they followed his story with attentive ears, and although the incidents were told without any order they liked it. M. Bédier adds: "Ses auditeurs n'avaient besoin, pour se plaire à ses chants que de regarder sa mimique, de comprendre en gros la teneur générale du récit et de savoir que la geste de Charlemagne devait nécessairement être chantée

And yet these pilgrimages of the XIth and XIIth centuries were but a small part of the shifting of population and exchange of feelings and imaginations that took place during the Merovingian period at the time when linguistic unity, even according to the theory of those who will see the language already dialectalized cannot have been so differentiated as it was in the XIth century.

The military service to which, from the VIth century, the population, without distinction of race, was called upon to perform, contributed its share to this mixing of people[1]. The local wars and the distant expeditions which became more frequent and more important with the VIIIth century, brought the men together and added a new element of unification of language.

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en cette langue mystérieuse, presque hiératique consacrée par la tradition." Let any one go to a church on Palm Sunday, for instance, when the Passion of Jesus is sung and although the faithful know the general story, will he describe the attitude of the people as "pendet plebicula auribus arrectis". People do not listen to what they do not understand, at least for any length of time and the common people less than the others. Nothing on the contrary irritates them more. Petit de Julleville tells of a crowd that happened in at a performance of a Latin play at the time of the Renaissance and almost mobbed the actors because they could not understand them.

The people evidently understood what the French jongleur sang with words deformed into Italian sounds. I personally have heard that kind of jargon spoken on boats in the Mediterranean and understood perfectly by French and Italians who only knew their own language respectively; and yet French and Italian are much more different today than they were then. Anatole France in the Lys rouge (p. 265, ed. Calmann-Lévy) makes the French poet Choulette harangue the people of Florence in such a jargon. "A l'issue de la procession, il avait réuni des vagabonds dans les ruines du théatre romain et leur avait fait en langage macaronique mêlé de français et de toscan un sermon qu'il se plut à refaire." This is also de opinion of G. Bertoni (Il Duecento, 1910, p. 3): "La stessa lingua francese delle canzoni di gesta fu forzata ad assumere un colorito d'italianità per rendersi piu accessibile al popolo."

Even Montaigne's boutade in his Essais II. XII. is valuable testimony: "Je conseillais, en Italie, à quelqu'un qui estoit en peine de parler italien, que pourveu qu'il ne cerchast qu'à se faire entendre, sans y vouloir autrement exceller, qu'il employast seulement les premiers mots qui luy viendroient à la bouche, latins, françois, espagnols, ou gascons et qu'en adjoustant la cadence et terminaison italienne, il ne faudroit jamais a rencontrer quelqu'idiome du pays, ou thoscan ou romain, ou vénitien, ou piémontois ou napolitain et de se joindre à quelqu'une de tant de formes" (cf. D'Ancona, Note I, p. 419 in Journal de Voyage de Montaigne, Città di Castello, 1895).

[1] In "La Monarchie franque, p. 67, Fustel de Coulanges, points out that in this period the word exercitus is often replaced by populus (Greg. 2, 31, ib., 32. Finally the army of Mummolus, apparently less purely composed of Germans, for the mixture of barbarians and of Romans had gone on apace, is also designated in the same sentence by the words exercitus and populus (Greg. 4, 45).

If we consider the constant convocations to the court and to the tribunals, the elections of bishops by the people and by the clergy, the penitents, vagrant clerics and monks swarming and wandering through the whole Latin region, we have indeed before us a society which from one end of Western Romania to the other is being constantly subjected to similar linguistic influences which naturally make for unity of speech. To ascribe to these causes of unification no effect on the language is to pay too little consideration to the reality of things and too much to the appearance. However superficial and material the relations between the Germanic races and the Romans had relatively been, they had already tended to produce a sort of European language, at least a European vocabulary [1]; and all the accumulated causes that we have enumerated, extensive colonization by the Germans and the Romanization through Christianization of the masses, colonization on a vast scale by the monks and permeation of all Romania by them, centralization and activity of the Church hierarchy, numerous pilgrimages in all directions, universal military service, etc., would not have prevented the sundering of Vulgar Latin into separate dialects during the Merovingian period?

Historians admit that the unity of Romania after the fall of the Roman Empire was a very real one: "Le prestige de Rome survécut à sa puissance matérielle. Elle resta pour les peuples la cité maîtresse, bienfaitrice du genre humain . . . et c'est à peu près à la même époque (V^e siècle) qu'apparaît pour la première fois dans nos textes le néologisme de Romania" (Lavisse, 1, p. 389). This great idea of the Roman state was such a reality that it influenced the destiny of Europe through the Middle Ages and that of Italy until to-day, says Gaspary (Gesch. d. ital. Lit., p. 1).

In fact it had never been the purpose of the German invaders, with one or two negligible exceptions, to destroy this empire. They simply wanted their share of it [2].

And this idea of Rome "cité maîtresse" was not a poetical one. Rome continued to be felt as the head of Western Romania, of the Western Empire because this Western Empire still existed. Thus says Isidor Hispalensis († 636) in his Etimolog. XV, I, 42 (Migne 82): "Constantinopolim unde et nunc Romani Imperii sedes et totius caput est Orientis sicut Roma Occidentis."

[1] Diese nahe Berührung der Sprachmaterialien, in der wir das Bestreben erkennen, einen gemeineuropäischen Wortschatz auszubilden (F. Kluge, Rom. und Germ. in ihren Wechselbez., in Gröbers Grundr., 1, 1, p. 384).

[2] Fustel de Coulanges, Le Royaume des Francs, p. 486. The well-known facts of Goths paying for property on which they had settled in the South of France, also of the Alamans in the Upper Rhine region leaving to the Romans the fertile valleys and being satisfied with the less profitable mountain sides, are quite significant.

It is true that, some time, a better informed person is of the opinion that Constantinople is the head, the capital of the Empire, for instance the Anglo-Saxon Adamannus (620—700) in his account of Alculfus' pilgrimage "Constantinopolim . . . quae procul dubio Romani est metropolis imperii"[1]. But this rectification carries with it the feeling of the existence of the Empire, not only of the Greek Orient, he would not have insisted so much with his "procul dubio", but of the Occident as well[2]. And why should the contemporaries have thought differently, when we bear in mind that the social and spiritual reality of the Empire had passed into Christendom especially Latin Christendom more unified than the political Empire even had been, and no new re-grouping of spiritual and material forces and elements had superseded those already created and organized.

We must not be mislead by what seems at that early period indications of regional patriotism, into believing that nations in the modern sense of the word had been so quickly evolved out of the cosmopolitanism of the earlier period. A certain Paul had revolted in the South of France against the Visigothic King Wamba, in the VIIth century. This rebellion was crushed and Julian, bishop of Toledo who has left us the history of the rebellion uses expressions which are at first sight nationalistic enough: „Quantum notissimum maneat, nec Francos Gothis aliquando posse resistere, nec Gallos sine nostris aliquid virtutis magnae perficere" and farther: „Ubi, o Gallia, elatae voces quibus Spaniorum vires molliores esse tuis feminis detractabas"[3]. Already half a century earlier Isidor Junior († 601), in his writing de laude Spaniae had said: "jure itaque te jampridem aurea Roma caput gentium concupivit et licet te sibimet eadem Romulea virtus primum victrix desponderet, denuo tamen Gothorum florentissima gens post multiplices in orbe victorias certatim rapuit et amavit, fruiturque hactenus inter regias infulas et opes largas imperii felicitate secura"[4].

In the following century the English show the same pseudo-nationalistic spirit. King Kuthbert writing to Lullus of Mayence (VIIIth cent.) rejoices that the gens Anglorum deserved to produce such a man like Boniface[5] and Lullus expresses the same satisfaction about Bede: "Et rectum mihi videtur ut tota gens Anglorum in omnibus provinciis, ubicumque reperti sunt, gratias Deo referant,

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[1] Migne, 88, 807.

[2] For instance, coinage of Emperor Maurice (582—602) is to be found in great abundance in the South of France. (Cf. Manuel de Numismatique par A. Blanchet et A. Diudonné, Paris, 1912, p. 191.)

[3] Migne, 96, 763, 797.

[4] Migne, 83, 801.

[5] Migne, 96, 829.

quia tam mirabilem virum praeditum diversis donis, tamque ad exercenda dona studiosum, similiterque in bonis moribus viventem, Deus illis sua natione donavit"[1].

On looking attentively at these utterances we find them rather on a line with Clovis' indignation at the Arian Visigoths holding the land south of the Loire. The idea is more racial than national. It is primarily a rivalry between the different armies such as the Roman armies had always known, and a similar emulation between the various regions of the Empire as had equally existed for many centuries and which, in the third and fourth centuries had resulted in various attempts, in Gaul for instance, to constitute a separate empire under its own emperor. But this had not meant a separation from Romania. As Budinsky (Ausb., p. 102) after A. Thierry (Hist. de la Gaule, II, 352) remarks, this Gallic empire preserved on its coins the symbol of Eternal Rome, "comme une protestation solennelle de Romanité". The Gallic emperor also took the title of Hercules Romanus. Budinsky adds significantly: "Einmal ein Römer geworden, begriff man eben nicht mehr wie man aufhören konnte es zu sein." This is just as true of the period under our study[2].

Out of this particularism, may grow the sentiment of nationalities and therefore of frontiers and effective separation between nations, but this will not take place until many centuries have elapsed. Even at the time of the epic efflorenscence of French literature, in the Chanson de Roland, although sweet France as a geographic entity is strongly felt, it is still mixed with the more general idea of the Christian world: France is Christendom, the Franks are the Christians: that is to say, this conception is still a transposition of the idea of the Romans under the Roman Empire, not of the later subject inhabitants of a separate nation among other sister nations. Under the Roman Empire the world had been divided between the Romani and the gentes or barbarians; the distinction continued during the Merovingian period. But as we have seen that the political unity had been replaced by a religious one, the word Romani became the generic name for Christiani[3].

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[1] Migne, 96, 838.

[2] The racial idea is fundamental during this period; it is at the basis of the Salic, or West Gothic or Burgundian laws where the distinction between the Romani and Franci is the most prominent feature, whatever the ultimate fate of these words may have been according to Fustel de Coulanges' famous theory. Cf. Longnon, op. cit. p. 192: "Pour Grégoire, l'Espagne ou les Espagnes n'est pas seulement le nom de la péninsule ibérique, c'est aussi ce que les Goths dominateurs de l'Espagne possèdent en deçà des Pyrénées, c'est-à-dire la Septimanie (cf. H, F. VI, 23, VIII, 28, 30).

[3] Greg. Tur. Glor. Mart. I, XXV; XXIX; LXXX. Eligii Vita ab Audoeno: Romanos enim vocant homines nostrae religionis (Migne, 87).

This concept of Romania alive during the Merovingian period will easily be extended to that of (Christian) Europe. The naive garrulous monk of Saint-Gall (ca. 884), rises naturally to it without difficulty: "Cum autem cuncta pene Europa ad triumphatorem tantae gentis Caroleum convenisset (I, IX, ap. Pertz). Arca pontis Magontiacensis quem tota Europa communi quidem sed ordinatissime participationis opere perfecti (ib. XXXII). And already in the VIIIth century, Isidor Pacensis (Migne, 96, 8271) recounting the battle of Poitiers (which he locates at Tours) between Abderraman and Charles Martel expresses this same idea: "prospiciunt Europeenses Arabum tentoria ordinata."

The epic poetry of France will however render this conception by the word of Francs. It is the transformation of one universal idea, based on real fact, which survived into the Middle Ages and was powerful enough to bring back a partial realization of the condition it represented after the crumbling down of this vast body into the dust of feudalism[1].

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[1] See in the first chapter of L. v. Ranke's Franz. Gesch. the influence of these ideas on the makers of French unity: Louis VI, Phil.-Aug., Joan of Arc.

If the inhabitants did not call themselves Romani, it was because such a name was not to be taken except in opposition to the gentes on barbarians. But now the barbarians were everywhere, whence the racial and no-longer national meaning of the word: there were no more Roman regions and barbarian regions. So the word Romani in ordinary, (not in legal) parlance was quickly restricted to the inhabitants of Rome proper. This could happen all the more easily since among the inhabitants of the Empire, the names had always been taken from the geographical origin of the persons: Italus, Gallus, Hispanus, Africanus. But outside Romania they preserved their traditional name far into the VIIIth century. Beda writes (VIIIth cent.): "Benedictus Oceano transmisso Gallias petens, caementarios qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam iuxta Romanorum (morem) quem semper amabat facerent, postulavit, accepit, attulit" (Migne, 94, 716).

Let it be noted in passing that this semantic evolution of Romani did not affect in any way the adjective Romanus or the noun Romania each one of which followed its own destiny.

Chapter VII.

Breaking up of the Unity of Romania.

The causes acting so powerfully to maintain and even to reenforce the spiritual unity of the Empire, had reached their completion by the end of the VIIIth century. When Charlemagne reunited the whole Romania directly or indirectly under his sway, the inspiration and action of Christianization and colonization, both civil and religious, common to the whole country, had ceased to be active. No unifying force, no work done in common, no converging or even parallel direction of social evolution were there to carry on this spiritual and linguistic unity whose existence came thus to an end. Charlemagne's empire was, in this respect, not the beginning of a new order of things, but the fugitive materialization in the domain of politics, of moral unity that was about to disappear.

There was right after the reign of Charlemagne's son a period in which it seemed that social dissolution had really set in, due to the lack of binding or cementing forces and the tremendous action of untoward circumstances. It is then that feudalism saved society, but in crystallizing it, in attaching the people to the soil or the places where they lived, breaking up the population in small groups, separating them from each other, making them almost self-supporting and isolated. Linguistically it turned Romance into a multitude of village speeches, the material out of which the medieval dialects were to be formed.

Had the isolation been complete, that is to say, had it not been the feudal system that society resolved itself into, the spiritual and linguistic evolution would have been a haphazard one. But the feudal system admitted of loose ties progressively growing larger, so that politically a phantom of unity was preserved and linguistically, from one end of Romania to the other, the village speeches shaded into each other with practically few gaps, due to the local actions and reactions between the social units that made up Latin Christendom. Thus was a sort or a phantom of unity of speech preserved through Romania corresponding with the phantom political unity. Thus was social and linguistic dissolution and confusion averted.

This reshaping of society into an infinity of small units had been made possible by the change which private ownership of land began to undergo in the Roman Empire as early as the first half of the fourth century. That was through the practice of the smaller landowners in need of more direct protection, to surrender their property to a more powerful man, receiving it back as a precarium, thus giving away the freehold title to the property, the right to sell it or to dispose of it in any way, which was tantamount to abandoning one's personal freedom in exchange for protection [1].

The invasions of the barbarians and especially the great work of Christianization so characteristic of the Merovingian period seems to have delayed this transformation, but it was never completely interrupted. In apparent contradiction with the spirit of the time which is one of constant change, we see it lead a precarious life through this period. Some Merovingian formulas give us an indication of what goes on, like N° 43 of the Form. Tur. "Qui se in alterius potestate commendat" an. 700—750 (MGHL. V, 158) or in the Capitula Reg. Franc. (801—813) where a man will lose the "beneficium" that he holds from one of his peers if he fails to come to his aid when summoned (MGH., CRF. I, 172).

But when the incursions of the Normans and other invaders of the IXth century, showed forcibly the weakness of the ties that bound the different parts of the empire together and it seemed likely that it was going to crumble into dust, the grouping of society into small local units already organized proved its salvation. The central power did not simply blow out but was officially transfused into these small individual elements which were ready to receive it. The building of the feudal castle, means and symbol of this new form of society is, in its inception, an act of the central power. In the "Edictum Pistense" Charles the Bald recommends the construction of "firmitates" fertés, against the Normans . . . "de istis operibus contra . . . nostros communes inimicos Nortmannos incepimus sine defectu et lassatione viriliter laboretis scientes qualiter placuisset si istas firmitates in Sequana ne Nortmanni possint ascendere hic factas habuissemus quando in tali angustia sicut experti estis ad Meldis (an. 862) contra eos communiter laboravimus".

That this building of forts, intended to stop the circulation of the Normans, was also used to interfere with all circulation is equally well known. In vain did Charles the Bald try to limit their number. The times were ripe. Ten years later the feudal system

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[1] Fustel de Coulanges, L'Empire romain, XIII, p. 222.
Isid. Hisp. Etym. V, XXV, 17: "precarium est dum prece creditor rogatus permittit debitorem in possessione fundi sibi obligati demorari et ex eo fructu capere." (Cf. Daphné: Alfred de Vigny historien, Modern Lang. Notes, May, 1914.)

supported by the local castle is the admitted law of Romania and the Empire[1].

Counties are broken up, the powers of the count as such become disorganized. The defense becomes local; no more general measures of resistance. Public works which had been kept up until after Charlemagne cease to be performed: harbours, roads, bridges, docks and wharves are left without repairs and quickly become useless[2]. At the same time private ownership of land ceases. Feudal tenure and serfdom replace the former possession. The use of courts, lawyers, laws, disappears from the life of the ordinary man. A powerful element of linguistic unity has stopped functioning. At once, with the suddenness which characterizes phenomena of life "l'horizon se limite, les intelligences ne s'élèvent plus au-dessus des petits faits de la vie locale". And as a consequence of this breaking up of society, it seems but natural that the germs of linguistic differentiation which had been held in check almost up to this point should spring up into a luxuriant growth: a dust of slightly divergent dialects appears all over Romania, less abundantly in Spain perhaps, for reasons that we shall see further on.

It is then that the destinies of the Romance languages shape themselves up along entirely new lines. In this the linguistic situation is but the exact counterpart of the political one.

Shall we not note in passing, as an interesting detail, but one which confirms strikingly this historical view, the rather sudden prominence into which the Jew springs through this gradual immobilization of society? Whereas formerly, he had been mentioned as an unbeliever in Christ, or as a mayor or villicus, superintendent of domains, as Rutilius in the Vth century depicts him, or as a business man hardly different from the others, so that it is but by chance that we hear of a Priscus as financial agent of Chilperic, or as a monetarius among many others[3], with the IXth century his situation changes.

For we have already had occasion to notice that this freezing-up of society begins in reality under the Carolingians, as soon as the forces making for interpenetration and intercommunication are spent. From now on he will appear as the trader who, having remained loose from personal and real attachment, is temporarily the principal moving element in a world which will, for three quarters of a century, crystallize into relative immobility.

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[1] Lavisse, 2, 1, p. 410 ff.

[2] Lavisse, op. loc. cit., p. 430. Cf. J. Flach, op. cit. 1, p. 318 ff.

[3] Jusef at Macon, Jaco at Orleans and Châlon, Osias, Priscus at Châlon if he is not the same as the man mentioned above. They are few indeed among the 800 monetarii whose names we know (A. L. von Ebengreuth, op. cit. p. 82 ff. H. Graetz, Gesch. der Juden, T. 5, p. 45, Leipzig, 1875).

Charlemagne and his son favored the Jews to the extent of having Saturday markets transferred to another day in order to accommodate them — which by the way was far from pleasing some of the clergy. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, accused them of taking advantage of these privileges to spread contempt for the Christian religion (Hefélé, 4, 1, Mansi, 14, 607). H. Graetz, p. 218, T. 5, emphasizes the fact that one reason for the favor shown the Jews by the Carolingians was the realization by the emperors that the great and holy characters of the Bible were Jews. But it is also evident that the economic reason played a great part: we see in the Capitulare "de villis" of Charlemagne (MGH., Cap. 1, p. 83) how each domain is provided with all the trades, which render it almost independent of the rest of the world. But this is precisely helping toward the transformation of society into an aggregate of self-supporting and self-sufficing small units. So when this society is called upon as is still the case under the first Carolingians to perform common enterprises, the commercial agencies required for such work must prove inadequate, having been more or less crippled by this new economic order. The Jew alone having preserved his mobility becomes all the more useful and even indispensable. No wonder if the central government will protect him against local authorities which may be tempted to abuse him who has no other protectors but the central powers. Everybody else is more and more giving up his liberty of action in order to acquire local protection. Practically only the central government is interested in the Jew's welfare in consequence. So we see that in the year 832, the XIXth cap. of that year forbids the imposition of new taxes on the Jews "qui si negotiandi causa substantiam suam de una domo sua ad aliam aut ad placitum aut in exercitum ducunt".

This immobilization of society which goes on rapidly from the IXth century, this new constitution of society explains why money lending on interest becomes prohibited. It is an important element only in the life of a people in which exchange and trade are intense. Yet it could not be dispensed with altogether, so that the mobile element of the Carolingian world, the Jew, was alone authorized to practice it, as Levasseur (op. cit. 1, p. 35), remarks. Here again, the religious or sentimental motive reflects the practical, material necessity. Society was almost immobilized, but only almost, and the Jew's special status was taking care of this restriction.

These are the historical conditions such as we observe them impartially. We cannot emphasize their convergence too much. The manifest conclusion is this: We do not find before the IXth century the background apparently necessary for the dialectalization that effectively took place in the Romance Languages of the three important western regions.

It must be observed that this reduction of Romania to its simplest elements stopped short of actual dissolution: the very essentials of social life remained alive and ready to form new and rich combinations: those that were to create the Neo-Latin nations with their varied culture. In France, in Italy, in the Iberic Peninsula, these elements began almost at once to combine anew and to develop in diverging directions according to their respective quality, the nature of the circumstances which surrounded them and, in general, the form of culture which they were gradually realizing. It is in France, and in Northern France especially that this reduction of society to its simplest elements was carried out more completely. It was done, so to speak, systematically and it continued long after that same movement had been arrested in the other regions of Romania where it did not reach that depth, thoroughness and intensity: "Telle fut, says Flach (op. cit. T. 2, p. 18), la transformation qui s'opéra en France à partir du X^{e} siècle. Jusque-là la continuité s'était maintenue dans l'ordre social. Les invasions germaniques, la royauté mérovingienne, le gouvernement centralisateur de Charlemagne avaient remanié, bouleversé par endroits la société; au fond ils ne l'avaient pas abolie; ils l'avaient continué. Désormais cette société est mise en pièces, elle s'éparpille . . .".

This revolution more complete in France than elsewhere will thus release the most intimate forces out of their antique combinations, give them free play, allow them to be individually and severally affected by the spirit of the age and the events in which it was reflected; this made France the real leader in all strictly medieval activities. All the great forces and sentiments of these times will thus share in the making of the new order: "(La société française) se reformera, says again Flach, autour d'éléments sociaux, le groupement populaire, les formes romaines et germaniques d'engagement des personnes et des terres, la noblesse, l'Église, la royauté."

This progressive amalgamation of the almost independent units was facilitated economically and socially by a repetition of some of the features that had characterized the Merovingian period: colonization and pilgrimages. An example of it is the rebuilding of Grenoble by bishop Isarnus (950—976) after the destruction of the town by the pagans: "Et quia paucos invenit habitatores in praedicto episcopatu, collegit nobiles, mediocres et pauperes, ex longinquis terris, de quibus hominibus consolata esset Gratianopolitana terra"[1]. Or else the new villages created in forests often near a hermitage, examples of which are to be found from the end of the Xth century, for inst. under Raynaud, bishop of Paris (992—1020),

[1] Flach, op. cit., p. 18, p. 156.

and the numerous villes neuves, bourgs neufs, sauvetés, villes franches. Also after 950, the great pilgrimages, most important factors for mixing peoples and ideas, were resumed on a new basis and with various results.

In Italy, the reorganization of the material of the former Roman Empire takes place right after the Carolingian period. The Xth century is the point of departure. Whereas in France, the Xth century marks the accentuation of the process of reduction of society to its smallest components, in Italy it stopped then. In the words of Volpe[1]: "In fatto col secolo X, termina il processo di dissoluzione della civiltà romana e incomincia quello di ricostruzione e ricomposizione, sia politica come economica e giuridica, è l'unità dell' Italia in formazione, unità che comincia coi comuni, procede con le signorie e i Principati"[2].

In Spain and Portugal, the reconstruction is determined in its essential lines by the great work of the reconquista, except for Catalonia whose destiny shaped by the Carolingians is, in the early Middle Ages, closely associated with France and more specifically with Provence.

We shall see how the linguistic history of these three important regions is the direct reflection of their social evolution which it naturally follows intimately.

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[1] Quoted by Torre, Arch. Stor., 1925, ser. VII, Vol. IV, p. 86.

[2] This more rapid reforming of the Italian society, besides the numerous social, linguistic consequences which we shall have occasion to comment upon later is, by the way, the reason why in everything that needed complete recasting, France reflected more intimately the spirit of the age. Law is manifestly one of these institutions. That is why French law, as it constituted itself in the Xth and XIth centuries, is the model and inspiration, not only of German and English law, but of Italian law as well. Cf. Sohm, Fränkisches Recht und Römisches Recht, in Zeit. d. Savigny's Stiftung, T. 1, Germ. Abh. p. 65, 69—70, Weimar, 1880, ap. Flach, op. cit. T. 1, p. 11.

Chapter VIII.

Regional Characteristics of the Latin language.

Corresponding with this political and social condition of Romania subsisting whole and entire until the Carolingian period with its natural subdivisions: Italy, Spain, Gaul, there should be found and there is found a linguistic condition which is its exact counterpart: a general unity of speech with a few regional characteristics which do not by any means interfere with the unity of language but are perfectly compatible with it. These regional features never went so far as to make the speech of one region, difficult to understand for the people of another region and simply marked them out respectively. We may also add that these regional characteristics have in general little or nothing to do with the ulterior evolution of the various Romance languages.

Thus while the rural domains in Italy and in the South of France were formed from the name of the owner with the suffix *-anus,* the Gallo-Roman domains in the North ended generally in *-acus*[1]. Then from the VII[th] century, this suffix *-acus* was commonly superseded by the words acting as suffixes, villa, villare, curtis[2], to designate the domains created during this period of intensive colonization; and this seems rather special to that part of Gaul where this (in part Germanic) colonization took place, that is to say in the North, Center, West and East.

Carnoy, Le Lat. d. Insc. d. l'Esp., p. 123 draws attention to the form eclesia for ecclesia in Gaul and Spain (église, yglesia) while Italian chiesa goes back to ecclesia.

As early perhaps as the VII[th] century we see the names of fruit trees formed in Gaul by means of the suffix *-arius* added to

[1] Fustel de Coulanges, L'Alleu, p. 17, 33. D'Arbois de Jubainville, Recherches sur l'origine de la propriété foncière et des noms de lieux habités en France, Paris, 1890, p. 252. The ending *-anus* was not however unknown in the North: Juventianus domain of Abbey of Saint Vaast of Arras; Lucianus belonging to the bishop of Mans; cf. Magnien (Magnianus) Côte d'Or.

[2] Fustel de Coulanges, L'Alleu, p. 276. Gröbers Grundriſs (1888), p. 424, 6.

the name of the fruit; at any rate by the end of the VIIIth this particularity of the common speech in France is quite settled as is evidenced in the Capitulare de villis 131.

As A. Longnon remarks in his Géographie de la Gaule au VI^{e} siècle, p. 516, the ending *-as, atis* is an ethnical suffix in the South of France.

Through the whole period of the Empire, Gaul measured distances in leagues while the Roman mile was used elsewhere and in Gaul also.

Rural life offered most features of that kind, as is to be expected. The bat, vespertilio, seems to have had regional names, mure caeco in Spain, calva sorix in Gaul; the weasel, mustela, received nicknames commatercula or commatericula as Menéndez Pidal demands, in Spain, bella, belletta in Gaul. But words less attached to local customs and life travelled fast. Isidorus of Seville explains the Latin word secures by the new Frankish one *francisca*: Etym., XVIII, VI, 9, secures = *franciscas.*

In the morphological domain, the lack of culture of the notaries during the Merovingian period caused the introduction into the written language of various local peculiarities, some of them of a more or less semi-learned nature, like the extension of the form of the neutral plural of the third declension to words of the second: *lectora, campora, tectora, preceptora, portora, rivora,* etc. which seems characteristic of Italian documents, yet of a rather limited use and weak vitality[1].

The regional use in Gaul of *ab* and *apud* must also be mentioned for the same period. Since later this use became quite characteristic of French (incl. Catalonian), and an important dialectal element, it will not be without profit to examine this question more closely with a view to determining how far it was regional in Gaul and whether it may already, before the IXth century, be called dialectal. The partisans of an early dialectalisation of Latin have made so much of this feature that a relatively thorough survey of the question seems necessary.

According to Meyer-Lübke, Gram. III, 246, *cum* was replaced in Gallo-Roman by *apud* which became in Old French *od* and in Provençal *ab (amb, am)*; later the adverbial form *avec* replaced *od.* Let us add that in his Rom. Etym. Wört., Meyer-Lübke admits that *avec* comes from Latin *ab* + *hoc,* not from *apud* + *hoc,* as was taught before. But if *avec* comes from Latin *ab* + *hoc* there is no reason to suppose that *ab* of the Oaths and Provençal comes from *apud.* In fact such an etymology goes back, in its simplicity

[1] Sittl, Arc. 2, 520; Forsch (3), Deutsche Gesch. 10, 270; Meyer-Lübke, Einf. (2), 164; Pasqui, Codex Dipl. Aret. 1, 40; H. P. M. 13, 39; Meyer-Lübke and d'Ovidio, Gram. stor. 98.

to the very infancy of philology. It is on a par with Cassiodorus' (468—560) explanation of the use of *ad* for *apud:* "veteres saepe *apud* pro *ad* usi sunt et duabus ex ea mediis litteris sublatis id est '*p*' and '*u*' sublatis, '*ad*' remanet" (II, Keil, T. 7, p. 194).

Therefore, when Haag (Latin. Fredegars, p. 78 ff.) after having cited two or three cases of *ab* = *cum* says: "Die Frage, ob *ab* in jedem Sinne afr. fortlebte, kann von Fredegar aus nicht entschieden werden. Aufzuwerfen aber ist sie, mit Rücksicht auf den historischen Befund sowohl, wie auf den Lautbestand der bisher ausschliefslich auf *apud*[1] zurückgeführten franz. Präpositionen", it is evident that the more recent works on the subject are not and cannot be of his opinion in regard to this phonetic development. Voretzsch, op. loc. cit., says that this should not be any objection to the admission that *ab* survived in the French dialects. In either case, whether Romance *ab* came from *ab* or from *apud,* the phonetic development is an uncommon one. It is evident that *ab* in either case was treated in a special manner; very likely so as to preserve its identity. Although Provençal and French harden final consonants, *b* remained *b* (cases of *ap* or *au* are very exceptional: cf. the Lexiques of Raynouard, Godefroy, Mistral; Tobler's naturally does not include it).

This crystallization of *ab* anterior to the Oaths must have taken place precisely at the time when *cum* did permanently drop out of French Romance, at the time of this shifting of forces discussed in the preface which marks the actual beginning of Romance, in the last quarter of the VIIIth century and the first years of the IXth. It goes without saying that the opinion of Mohl (Chron. p. 7) as quoted by Grandgent (Intr. p. 40) that, by the IVth century, *cum* had probably disappeared from the language spoken in Gaul to be replaced by *apud,* is absolutely gratuitous. It is also uninteresting, since far from solving the problem in whole or in part, it increases the darkness irremediably. Why should *apud* have displaced *cum* then? Mohl's answer to that question is too fanciful to be discussed here.

The great confusion that would have taken place between *a, ab, ad,* that may even have taken place (Max Bonnet, p. 446) at the time of Greg. of Tours through the weakening of consonant endings was corrected later through the growing importance of *ab* assuming so many meanings of *cum* which it shared with *apud.* It was not allowed to evolve, especially in the direction of *ad* = *a.* It is not the only case of a morphological feature preserved and even restored.

The principal reason why philologists will not unreservedly accept this etymology propounded, as far as avec is concerned, by

[1] Bausteine zur rom. Phil., 1905, p. 61.

Elise Richter (*Ab* im Rom., Halle, 1904, p. 103) is in the words of K. Voretzsch, Einf. in d. Stud. d. altfr. Spr., Halle, 1918, p. 221, "zumal wegen der Schwierigkeiten in der Bedeutungsentwicklung". The inference is that were it not for this, it would be much more natural to admit that both, *ab* (*ab* in the Oaths and in Prov.) and *apud* (*od, o* in French) superseded *cum* in Gaul[1].

Let us say first that this difficulty in the semantic evolution of *ab* is more apparent than real and rests on the conventional view of *ab* as a preposition indicating separation, and also governing the agent of the passive verb.

There were however in the classical *ab* enough new developments of meaning since the prehistoric times to present many possibilities, some of which came to realisation in the dialects of France. In fact a comparison of *"ab"* with Greek *àpó* shows that *"ab"* developed new meanings to a far greater extent than its Greek counterpart: while the latter preserved mostly the original meaning of separation, and evolved out of it only the connotation of means or instrumentality, *ab* took on more and more meanings in which from the idea of separation one passed to the idea of origin, then causation, local proximity, side-taking, therefore company.

From the local relation as in concrepuit *a* Glycerio ostium (Andria III, 10, 683) sed foris concrepuit hinc *a* vicino sene, ipse exit (Plaut. mil. 154), where *a* = *apud* = *chez,* very frequent at all periods, cf. Livy, 27, 48, ex omnibus partibus *ab* fronte, *ab* latere, *ab* tergo trucidantur (and Max Bonnet, op. cit., p. 596 gives examples of it in Greg. of Tours), one passes to a personal relation of proximity usually rendered by *apud.* So we find it clearly used for the latter, Commod. inst. 1, 30, 20, expiate malum vestrum benefactis *a* Summo; Vist. Vit. 2, 6, *ab* omnibus gratus; Itala, Bened. Reg. 7, 49, p. 61, Traube, prov. 14, 12, viae quae videntur *ab* omnibus rectae, the Vulgate has hominibus; Eccl. XXVIII, Qui vindicari vult, *a* Domino invenit vindictam (In Thesaurus, I, 1, p. 40).

From that the transition is easy to the expression of side-taking, therefore company in a figurative sense: Plaut. Rud. 4, 4, 46, *a* me sentiat, *abs* te stat rendered by with or by in English and avec in French: he stands by you, with you, which use is frequent in the jurists' works "ebenso bei Späteren" adds Dräger. Ex.: Rhet. Her. 2, 43: multi *ab* reo faciunt; Apul. Apol. 53, libertus qui *a* vobis stat. The Thesaurus, p. 21 ff. gives an imposing array of examples of such a use.

Is not the *cum* meaning strongly marked in such expressions and in the following: Plaut. Au. Curc. 51, tam *a* (with) me pudica est quasi soror mea sit. Cic. Ep. 8, 10, 1, quam paratus *ab* exercitu esses. Cic. fin. 4, 7, Zeno et qui *ab* eo sunt. Plin. epst. 6, 2, 2, oculum

[1] Cf. p. 54, note 1.

. . . circumlinebat alterum si *a* petitore, alterum si *a* possessore esset acturus. Iren. 2, 1, 4, eos qui sunt *a* Marcione. Ambros exhort. virg., 6, 36, adhaerens deo et totus *a* domino[1]. The next examples taken from works written in Gaul during the Merovingian period are not different from the preceding ones: Fredeg. II, 58, Ut Alaricus barbam tangerit Chlodovei, effectus ille patronus, perpetuam *ab* invicem pacem servarint. Lex saliga (1st text, Pardessus), XLVII tum ille qui *cum* eum negotiavit mittat tres testes . . . et alteros tres testes quod publice *ab* eo negociasset. Lib. Hist. Franc. SRM. T. 2, 20, (p. 247) Tu autem vade Trajectum portum super fluvium Mosam et ibi collegeris *ab* (with) omnibus sanctis fratribus tuis in caelum. Ib. 30, 37 (p. 290) pro qua causa (for having married two concubines) Charebertus a sancto Germano Parisiorum episcopo excommunicatus est *ab* utrisque (with both of them).

In the same period, Italy and Spain continued to know this peculiar use of *ab*. The Italian Fontunatus (Vita S. Radeg. 7, 20, SRM. T. 2, p. 367) writes: rixas habebat *a* (= *cum*) conjuge. Langob. Reg. Dipl. Migne, 88, 1361, Hecclesiam *ha* (with) fundamentis, fabricis, vestibolis, constituimus in honorem . . sancti Silvestri. Troya, Cod. Long. T. 3, p. 327, An. 721, componat vobis vel *ab* (= *cum*) heredibus vestris auri solidos decim.

What difference is there between these examples and the well known passage in the Oath: "Et *ab* Ludher nul plaid prindrai?" Considering that between the Oath and Plautus this remarkable development of *Ab* is to be found at all periods, is it not almost evident that we have the same preposition in Plautus and in the Oath? Were it not so, at what particular year would the Latin *ab* have ceased to be and the Romance *ab* supposed to have come from *apud* begun? This question is all the more à propos since at no time during the transitional period do we notice a diminishing use of *ab*, but quite the contrary. *Ab* seems to be gaining all around. Even in comparison with another live preposition *de*, M. Bonnet, op. cit. 607, says: "A qui ne connaît pas l'évènement, il peut sembler que c'est plutôt *ab* qui l'emportera.". This supposition that the Romance *ab* is another *ab* than the Latin *ab* is all the more useless besides being gratuitous since the very reason why it was formed, to wit: to explain the Romance meaning of *ab*, is not satisfied, for *ab* has been in possession of that meaning since the beginning of the literary period: it is an explanation which explains nothing.

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[1] Cf. the following: Eccl. XV, 3 Et obviabit illi quasi mater honorificata et quasi mulier *a* virginitate suscipiet illum *a* = *cum*. Vita Genovef. SRM. T. 3, 28 Puella quaedam petiit sibi *ab* eam veste mutare (VIIIth cent.) Lex Alem. MGH. Leg. I, LVI: Si autem *ab* (= *cum*) ea fornicaverit contra voluntate eius 40 solidos componat. Migne, 88, 1182, villam Disiacum quem *a* (= *cum*) Bavone et Theodorano de villis ecclesiae nostrae concambivimus (an. 662).

Other meanings of *cum* are also rendered by *ab* in classical, postclassical and Romance times. Ovid, Ars amat. 1, 763 Hic iaculo pisces, illic capiuntur *ab* hamis; Varro, re rust. II, VII, 8 *ab* locis equae nares equi tangunt; Cels. med. 8, 4, p. 334, 37 *a* singulis lingulis cutis subsecatur; Fest. 214, *a* conto pertentant aquae altitudinem; Itala (Paul. Nol. Epist. 13, 19) cant. 1, 1, nos deus osculatur *ab* oculis; CIL. VIII, 10478, 1, Edict. Diocl. 7, 533, centunclum primum ornatum *ab* acu; Sid. Carm. 2, 380 suis hic ultus *ab* armis; S. Germani Epist. II (Migne, 72, 96), tunc *ab* ore fidelis populi Agni caro comeditur et sanguis dulciter bibetur; Greg. Tur. in Urbat's Beitr., p. 27 *ab* una manu pallas altaris tenerem; LHF. 28, p. 287 (MHG., SRM. loc. cit.) Chlotarius rex *ab* stagno (basilicam) cooperire iussit.

In Italy and Spain the same extended use of *ab* is to be met with: S. Steph. II Epist. XIII (An. 752), Migne, 89, 1021: de propria semper congregatione eligatur abbas qui *ab* omnium monachorum consensu in eis constituatur; Zacharias Epist. (an. 769), Migne, 97, 81 Nam et nos *ab* apostolica auctoritate subiungimus ut; Italian handbook of chemistry VIIIth cent. Muratori ed. 1778, T. 4, Diss. 24, 687 et tene illud *cum* tenalea ferrea et distende et *a* forfice recide; Ib. et circinetur illud a forfice . . rade *cum* cultellum. Isid. Hisp. Etym. XIX, VII, 3, Migne 82 Forcipes quasi ferricipes eo quod ferrum candens capiant teneantque sive quod *ab* iis aliquid forvum capimus.

The question asked above concerning another meaning of *ab* is again apropos here: What difference is there between such a use and that met with in the Saint Leger (38): *ab* un inspieth lo decollat? and why should we not have the same preposition, especially since the continuity of the use is sufficiently ascertained? There is no more reason to say that the Romance *ab* and the Latin *ab* belong to two different languages and are only accidentally alike than there would be in regard to French est and Latin est. There is however a problem which we shall attempt to state and to solve at least in a small part.

Let us first remark that in this broadening of the original meaning of *ab*, a phenomenon which is apparent from the time of Plautus and continues uninterruptedly through the Merovingian period, there is one connotation in which *ab* loses. Dräger, op. cit. I, p. 621, remarks that although *per*, which, with the passive verb, usually governs the intermediary, is sometimes used for *ab* to designate the agent, never is *ab* used to designate the intermediary. Ex.: Cic. fam. 5, 11, Metellus writes: fratrem tuum *per* te oppugnatum . . . whereupon Cicero 5, 2—6 replies: fratrem tuum *a* me oppugnari, and 5, 12, 6 *a* te ornari, celebrarique . . . *per* eum commendari. The fact is so well known and the examples of it all periods so numerous that it is useless to cite more. So that already

in the classical period, it is easy to see that *ab* is going to lose or at least is in danger of losing one of its meanings and curiously enough the one that is most commonly associated with it: the designation of the agent of the passive verb.

In this shifting of uses, *ab* was very likely helped to its final absorption of the *cum* meanings (as *ab* and as *ab* + *hoc*) by the preposition *apud*[1]. This latter must have had an auxiliary function, that of aiding in bringing about a sense of duplication in regard to *cum*. When *apud* had fulfilled that mission, it disappeared, sooner in the South where its part had been less active, later in the North where it had been associated to a greater extent with some of the most important social usages of the transitional period: the Merovingian.

This other preposition, *apud*, had a shorter distance to cover to reach the meaning of *cum*. From the normal one as expressed by Paul. Fest. 12 (Thesaurus, 2, 1, p. 335) "*apud* mutuam loci et personae coniunctionem demonstrat ut cum dicimus ceno *apud* amicum", it had early been used to indicate relations between persons, not places (Thesaurus, op. loc. cit., p. 338), in the sense of *prope*, *iuxta*, and we may add *cum*. For instance in Plautus, Bach. 81: Ubi ego tum accubem? — and B. answers *Apud* me, mi anime: ut lepidus *cum* lepida accubet. The Thesaurus does not give Bacchis' answer; yet it should be given in order to show the strong *cum* connotations of *apud*. However, the Thesaurus gives a series of examples in which it recognizes that *in* and *cum* could often take *apud*'s place: Epid. 191 illum audivi in amorem haerere *apud* nescio quam fidicinam; Ter. Eun. 534: *apud* nos hic mane.

In the bello hispanico: XVII Ita postero die Tullius legatus *cum* Catone Lusitano venit et *apud* Caesarem verba fecit; Spartiani Hadrianus, XI qui *apud* Sabinam uxorem . . . familiarius se tunc egerant.

Sulpic. Sever., Vit. Martin. 23 Angelos *apud* se loqui solere dicebat. This last example taken form the works of a native of Gaul is often cited as the first case of *apud* used for *cum*, or where *cum* would be expected: it is then considered as a clear case of Gallic dialectalisation.

It may however be seen that it differs not at all from the one above taken from the de bello hispanico, and is in line with all the others which are but a few out of many. Had Sulpicius Severus not been a native of Gaul, this passage would not have received this one-sided interpretation.

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[1] We must be allowed to use this anthropomorphic terminology: it is evident that the liking of the people in Romania for the preposition *ab* was due to psychological reasons which it would be interesting to fathom.

Indeed this general interpenetration of meanings of *apud* and *cum* as a general Latin phenomenon is evidenced by the counterpart movement of *cum* assuming functions of *apud*. The Itala, gen. 32, 4 (Lugd), *cum* Laban commoratus sum, *apud* in the Vulgate. In Amphitrio 112 we have: et meus pater *cum* illa cubat, whereas above we have seen both *cum* and *apud* used with exactly the same connotation (Thesaurus IV, 1344 ff.). Propert. 2, 3, 31 nec semper nobis*cum* (i. e. *apud* nos homines) humana cubilia vises; Tertul. idol. 9, p. 39, 8 magus Elymas qui *cum* (= *apud*) Sergio Paulo . . . luminum amissione multatus est by the way as strong a transfer of function as can be imagined; Vulg. gen. 49, 29 sepelite me *cum* patribus meis; Carm. de nigr. 49, 4 aliud non est vobis*cum* gratia quam lex (506 *apud* vos); Eccl. XVII, 18 Eleemosyna viri quasi signaculum *cum* ipso (Deo) = *apud*; ib. fili si habes benefac te*cum* Ib. XIV, 11 Ante mortem benefac amico tuo.

This is why we cannot agree with P. Geyer (Archiv. II, p. 30) when he says that Gregory of Tours cut down the use of *apud* for *cum* in order to avoid a use which he knew to be incorrect, as in Hist. Franc. I, 43 primum ei monasterium *cum* Mediolanensibus fuit; ib. 1, 41 *apud* Arvernos habebatur episcopus, IV, 28 dignitatem *cum* rege habere. In this, how is Greg.'s usage different from the other writers quoted above out of many more. They, like him, use *cum* for *apud* and *apud* for *cum*. Tertullian saying that Elymas was punished by Sergius Paulus or at his tribunal = *cum* Sergio Paulo surely goes as far in that direction as it is possible to go. Nobody would say that in his anxiousness to avoid a wrong use of *apud* he falls into the other extreme[1].

So when the Thesaurus, II, p. 344, III, 2 says that Galliae incolae *cum* and *apud* confundebant (with a reference to Geyer Archiv 2, 26 (who, by the way, was more of the opinion expressed by Mohl, Grandgent, op. cit., p. 40, that *apud* had superseded *cum*), we must admit that the statement does not take into account the facts that we have mentioned, some of which are taken from the Thesaurus itself.

As a matter of fact, all this interchange of meanings, this very lively evolution of prepositional functions (v. g. Liv. 5, 38,

[1] This kind of interpretation of the Merovingian linguistic phenomena is indeed remarkable. We suppose in the writers a peculiar perversity in avoiding the very faults or the very uses which we would like so much the find in them. So when the "wonderful" Virgilius Maro says that "haec in nulla expolita qua utimur latinitate habentur: con pro *apud* (Humer, Epit. d. Gram. Virg. Mar. VII, p. 89) it has to be interpreted the other way. Why not admit that V. M. had noticed this exchange of functions and very naturally believed that these uses at variance with the theory of the propositions were peculiar to the people whom he heard using them? Every day rather well informed persons will consider as regionalisms idiomatic turns or expressions common to the whole country.

fortuna *cum* barbaris stabat: bleibt auf seiten says Dräger. Nepos says *cum* aliquo facere, although *ab* is more frequent, (Dräger, I, p. 639), remains to the very last years of the VIIIth century a characteristic feature of the spoken language in Romania; and the written documents bear testimony to this fact. As we have seen, most of the examples given by Bourciez, de praepositione ad casuali . . . Paris, 1886, p. 105, Bonnet, p. 600, Haag, p. 79, etc. are duplicated in other parts of Romania and in other periods. See, for instance, Catalonian documents of 948: ipso pullino saxo remaneat ad Ingelberto *apud* ipsa sella; 976 venerunt *apud* fratrem Isarnum (with); 979: alodem quem concamniavi *apud* sanctum Johannem (ap. O. Denk, Einf., p. XXX ff.).

Pope Adrian, the son of a Roman noble, writes: ipse nempe noster missus cum *apud* eum conjunxisset (LXI, An. 776, Migne, 98, 301), cf. Cicero: Ep. 817 ad div. XI, 22: se *cum* Antonio coniunxit. The Merovingian LHF. (SRM., T. 2, 31, p. 291, 10): legationem in Hispaniam mittit et *cum* multis muneribus Brunchilde . . petiit. The Roman inscription CIL, VI, 9258 add. p. 3469: donavi *ab* (= *apud*) heredes meos clavem like the Merovingian Vita S. Radeg. II, 19 (SRM., T. 2, p. 390, 28): nocturna avis quae *ab* hominibus est ingrata. The Cap. Sax., 4, an. 797 reflecting Gallo Frankish Latinity: ut qualiscumque causa infra patriam *cum* (= *per* or *ab*) propriis vicinantibus pacificata fuerit; LHF. 6, p. 247, 85: Ille petiit *cum* eo consilium qualiter animo furientium Francorum possit mitigare. In Italy: si casa . . . *aput* me pejorata fuerit, Muratori, T. 9, 265, an. 804; Muratori, T. 15, dis. 74, 608: Et quando veniebat et faciebat ibidem officio et quod inveniebat *a* (= *apud*) christianis totum sibi tollebat, ib. 613: sagrationem *a* pontefice Aretine Ecclesie habere . . . semper sagrationem *apud* Episcopo habere . . . semper *ab* Aretino Episcopo sagrationem . . . habuerunt. In Spain: Esp. Sag. T. 30, 368: Nam utique christianis *apud* Dominum vita non aufertur se melior mutatur.

It will be seen that in this fluctuation of uses of these prepositions, *ab* was in reality the one which, in general, gained most of the meanings of *cum*. Although *apud* through its relative similarity of meaning could, it seems, more easily step into *cum*'s place, it was very probably, from a psychological point of view inferior to *ab* whose deep and rich connotations of cause and origin had evidently a stronger and increasing hold in the popular language which extended its use more and more.

Apud, however received an addition of life in France from its use in an important legal practice which flourished under the Merovingians: that of the judiciary oath.

The practice of justifying oneself by the assistance of witnesses who swore along with the defendant or plaintiff to the truth

of the latters' assertions became predominant in, and characteristic of, legal procedure in France. The presence of these witnesses along with their respective parties was expressed by *apud* rather than by *cum*, probably because *apud* expressed their actual presence (= by the side of), while *cum* would not have rendered that idea so clearly since the figurative meaning (cf. I am with you in this affair) was even more likely to be understood than the real or physical one. Indeed in some cases this distinction is plainly brought out: Fredegar. Cont. 45, p. 188, SRM. T. 2 Ammanugus comis Pectavensis dum Toronico infestando praedaret et *ab* homines Vulfardo abb. monasterio beati Martini interfectus est et plures qui *apud* eum (= with him or by his side) ibidem venerant, *cum* ipso (= with him but not necessarily by his side) pariter ceciderant".

The actual presence of the co-jurors in the above-mentioned legal procedure is therefore practically always rendered by *apud*. v. g.: Pardessus 394 an. 680 et *aput* sex hoc deberit coniurare; Marculf form. MGH., Leg. V, 1, 38 Fuit iudicatum ut ille *apud* tres et alios tres sua manu septima in palatio nostro super capella Sancti Martini ubi reliquiae sacramenta percurrunt debeat coniurare quod . . . Is not the actual position of the co-jurors, three on either side of the principal party emphasized thus characteristically and the value of *apud* clearly brought out? Cf. Sen. 17, 2; Andecav. 50; ib. 24; Form. Tur. 30 Veniens iam dictus ille . . . sicut mos est *apud* homines 12 manu sua tertia decima dextratus vel conjuratus dixit . . . Sed postea vero taliter in jam dicto loco . . . *apud* homines 36, manu sua trigesima septima . . . coniurare debeat *apud* homines visores et cognitores. But the judge himself who has not to accomplish this judicial rite says: Igitur ego . . . inde veniens . . una *cum* bonis hominibus; Marculf, 1, 38 idem ille *apud* tres et alios tres . . . *cum* legis beneficio . . . una *cum* raupa sua.

In fact the testimony of all the formulas is very striking in this respect. It is not until the later ones that *apud* is extended to entirely new uses which indicate that it can supersede *cum*: Form. Senon. 17, an. 768—775 sic iuratus dixit . . homo Alicus . . *apud* arma sua super venit; then two or three lines below we meet with the regular or ritual expression: et ego hodie ipso facio . . . *apud* tris aloarius et 12 conlaudantes. In fact here one would say that he uses the first *apud* by anticipation, in expectation of the consecrated formula which is to follow and which he has in his mind.

These formulas belong to the whole Merovingian period, from the VIth to the IXth century, but the manuscripts are not earlier than the IXth. The "Carton des Rois" published by Tardif contains documents which are both original and sealed; consequently their real date is the one they bear. The testimony they offer is in perfect

keeping with that of the formulas and that is indeed striking. *Apud* for *cum* is used only in that clearly technical sense: 30 an. 692 ipsi Ennewaldus abbas *aput* tris homenis, sua manu quarta . . .; 22 an. 679 de novo denominatus *aput* sex, sua mano septima etc.; otherwise *cum* is the rule: una *cum* distringente fisco in 24 an. 682; dº 25 an. 688; dº 26 an. 690; dº 28 an. 691; dº 33 an. 693; dº 36 an. 696; dº 40 an. 700; dº 41 an. 701; dº 42; dº 43 an. 709; dº 45 an. 710; dº 46 an. 716; dº 47 an. 716 etc.

Of course out of this technical use, a connotation of *cum* entered which is however rarely as strongly marked as in the following which are mostly of the end of the period: MGH. L. 5, p. 221 mixta vetus *apud* novella (farina) and this one cited by Ducange I, p. 599: Form vet. Bign. 39 Ibique veniens homo aliquis nomine ille suggessit eo quod *apud* nostrum signaculum hominem aliquem . . . mannitum habuisset. LHF. 10, 2, p. 253 Chlodovechus rex omnem exercitum suum *apud* armorum apparatus iussit venire. But this development is so relatively recent that Greg. of Tours (end of the VIth century) does not know it yet and Bonnet, op. loc. cit., p. 587 can only say that *apud* approaches the meaning of *cum* "sans qu'on puisse dire cependant qu'ils soient employés l'un pour l'autre".

A mistake has often been made in putting all these examples together as belonging to one period, first, cases where *apud* and *cum* approximate each other in meaning and which are common to all Romania, secondly, the technical uses characteristic of a judicial procedure special to France; thirdly, the more recent developments where *apud* steps more clearly into the place of *cum*. Then on this foundation a case has been built in which, as expressed by Mohl, *cum* was made to have disappeared from the language spoken in Gaul as early as the 4th century. This spontaneous disappearance could have been possible only on the assumption of the existence of a clearly marked dialect in Gaul.

But the facts are entirely at variance with such an hypothesis. The picture that the facts present is that of a strong encroachment on the domain of *cum* by both *ab* and *apud, ab* seeming to gain most. This condition, one in which in some cases the prepositions seem to be interchangeable, is a Latin one as we have seen from the examples given above. If however, more examples are found in documents of Francia, the reason is the greater importance and perhaps quantity of such documents. Spain has nothing before the middle of the IXth century, and in spite of the richness of the Italian archives, they cannot show anything comparable to either Gregory of Tours, Fredegarius or the Liber Historiae Francorum, or to the legal Formulae or Tardif's Collection. If to illustrate the interchange of prepositional function, we cite three examples taken from the same passage of the Salic law in three different manuscripts 8, 9, 2 Vasum *ab* apis in cod. 7 or

Vasum *aput* abes in cod. 9 or Vasum *cum* apis in cod. 2, it is not so much because these individual cases cannot be duplicated elsewhere (we have shown that each one of them is indeed represented in other regions and epochs) but because nowhere else have we this precise kind of documents.

In France however a very important and far-reaching custom gives birth to a peculiar use of *apud*. This use is not dialectal: it is connected with a peculiar act, expresses that act and is no more dialectal than is the use of a special term to designate for instance a particular object known to one region and unknown to the others.

From this greater extension of function, there is born, by the end of the period, VIIIth century, a use of *apud* which duplicates the most common one of *cum*. This is evidently regional but hardly dialectal, for it is not produced from a diverging condition of the language but from a special and individual custom. It is still very limited and exeptional. As we have also seen, *cum* continues to be used in the majority of cases. Indeed, through a well known linguistic law, alluded to in the preface, *cum* at the moment of its imminent disappearance, seems to revive. LHF. (VIIIth cent.) 1, 48, p. 56, 4, MGH., SRM., T. 2 primum ei monasterium *cum* Mediolaninsibus fuit; d° 2, 7, p. 68, 21; d° 9, 9, p. 365, 21; d° 4, 20, p. 157, 4 etc.; Cap. *ab* Anseg. coll. K. M. Migne 97, 514, 59 ut pax sit et concordia et unanimitas *cum* omni populo christiano. Alcuin himself, Ep. LX An. 796, falls under the influence of the common speech around him in this as in other particulars (See P. Taylor, Romanic Review, 1924, pp. 123—127) Haec chartula obsecro vobiscum servetur et saepius legatur. See also the phonetic development of *cum* = *con,* Virgilius, Humer op. cit., p. 89 etc.; que con summa festinatione, Form. Andeg. II, 3; d° ib. 7; usque ad Nevernum urbem con omni exercito veniens, Fredeg. 47, p. 189. So these two prepositions *ab* and *apud* took on more and more uses of *cum* to which the common speech might have preferred them on account of their more potent connotations. They were therefore gaining ground. Finally, *cum* was, to all intents and purposes duplicated in all its functions by *ab* and *apud*.

The coincidence of these two developments (*ab* and *apud*) must have weakened the position of *cum* considerably. When during the period of rapid shifting of forces under Charlemagne, the spoken language was for the space of a generation quite disconnected from the written and there was that quick discarding of superfluous and heterogeneous elements which was emphasized in the preface, *cum* was abandoned along with other elements, like the synthetic passive, numerous conjunctions etc.

Yet *apud* which owed its increase of vitality to a set of circumstances and not to deep psychological causes, did not extend its domain byond the limits of greater intensity of that legal practice,

that is Northern France, and was finally eliminated by *ab* which had a much stronger basis for success.

If it is asked why *ab* did not achieve the same triumph over *cum* in the rest of Romania, the answer seems to be, first: that *apud* did no help *ab* to weaken the usefulness of *cum* as it did in France through its function in the judicial oath, second: that the spoken language did not, from the VIIIth century down, develop so completely, so fully. There was around the momentous period of Charlemagne, a sort of halt and then a turning back towards Latin. The popular handling of *ab*, for that is what its development of functions had been, was defeated by the more letter-correct, bookish or grammatical *cum*.

Strange as this view may appear, it is in accord with the general evolution of the respective languages, as we shall have occasion to notice again.

The growing use in Italy, from the VIIIth century, of the preposition *da* = *de* + *a*, not unknown in Francia (cf. Hamp, Die zusamm. Präp. in Archiv, V, p. 33: quod visus fuit tennuisse tam dea paterna vel materna seo de comparato, Pardessus, add. 33 an. 715) is not comparable in importance or in effect to that of *ab* or *apud* in the function of *cum*. It was in a way pleonastic and did not involve such a transfer of meanings: it amounted at most to a more intense pronunciation of *de*.

This regionalism did not, therefore, become strongly marked until after the VIIIth century when *de* + *a*, which never made much headway in France, was discarded there, while it became entrenched in Italy in spite of the latter's reaction towards Latin. One can well realize that the triumph of *ab* in its new meaning in Francia prevented its auxiliary use, to wit: to strengthen or reinforce *de*, from developing. For while in compound prepositions *de* + *intus*, *de* + *ab* + *ante*, *de* + *foris*, the meaning of *de* becomes lost in that of the second or third element, in *de* + *ab* both components are so near alike in meaning that *de* preserves its full value, or rather increases it.

Yet all through the VIIIth century, this divergence between French and Italian was not more than indicated: it concerned only special uses of prepositions of common stock, quite intelligible in all parts of Romania, while their traditional functions were still preserved.

It will be seen how much this view, although based on facts, is at variance with the general opinion as expounded in Grandgent, 78, and Meyer-Lübke, Gram. 3, 246, that in Gallo-Roman, from the earliest times *cum* is replaced by *apud*, a view which Elise Richter was the first to impugn, op. loc. cit., and which does not seem tenable any longer.

Chapter IX.

Linguistic features evolved in common in the West.

Such were the conditions which prevailed during the Merovingian period and until after Charlemagne.

Even if we did not possess any positive linguistic evidence, we would nevertheless be justified in holding to our view; yet there would be nothing better than a strong presumption in its favor. But not only do the linguistic facts not contradict the conclusions drawn from the social and political situation, but they give us positive and convergent evidence that in the three main regions of Western Romania the language evolved in common, developing certain characteristic forms peculiar to these regions and foreign to the others, like, for instance Rumania, which had practically been severed from the western world by the end of the VIth century and which grew more and more remote from it. Whether all the Romans were brought back south of the Danube by Aurelian or only the prominent families were thus transferred (Budinsky, op. cit., p. 223 ff.; Th. Gartner, Darstell. d. rum. Spr., Halle, 1909, p. 74), their destinies took them further and further away from the Latin basis, immersing them more and more among barbarians, mostly of Slav origin. They went northward beyond the Danube; and thus was enlarged the gulf that separated them from Rome, so that they finally severed all connection with the latter, receiving their Christian support and inspiration from Constantinople.

It is very clear that in the transformation of Latin into the Romance languages only these phenomena will be common to all that will have, at least, their beginning in the time of the Koinê, that is to say, in the time when they all participated in or shared this common tongue. The most important and far-reaching of the changes common to all was assuredly the transformation of the classical quantity into the Romance, that is to say, the lengthening of all stressed vowels, except checked ones in most regions, and the subsequent shortening of unstressed syllables. There ought not to be any doubt that the classical quantity was a feature of spoken, or vulgar Latin. Direct evidence like that of Cicero (Orat., 51, 173) telling us of the great offense to the ears produced by a

mistake in the quantity; the conformity with the classical quantity of the popular verse (L. Müller, De re metrica, Leipzig, 1861, p. 11 ff.; R. Thurneysen, Der Saturnier, Halle, p. 57 ff.) transmitted by Suetonius. Yet quite early, by the end of the second century, the stress is gaining over quantity to such an extent that Commodianus (ca. 200) writes his rhythmic hexameter in which both quantity and rhythm are used, to poor advantage, to be sure (cf. Manitius, Gesch. d. christl. latein. Poesie bis zur Mitte d. 8. Jahrh., Stuttgart, 1891, p. 19. Manitius remarks that his style will not find imitators until the VIIth century in Spain and Lombardy). Ambrose's rhythmic verse respects quantity. Admitting the foreign birth of Commodianus and a certain desire to break away from classical pagan poetry, according to the remark of L. Müller, op. cit., p. 466, the fact remains that quantity was evidently losing in respect to stress. For a Gregory of Tours, it has become something almost mysterious and superior. Take for instance his miracles of St. Martin, he will not allow any one to change anything in them, except if they re-write them in (classical) verse. We are here in presence of a phenomenon that took centuries to complete itself: it was started a century before Aurelian abandoned Dacia; and yet as late as the VIth century, Latin words borrowed in Old English, still preserved the distiction between a short stressed *i* and a long one, as Pogatscher showed in his thesis (Zur Lautlehre d. griech. lat. und röm. Lehnwörter im Altengl., Strafsburg, 1888, p. 44 ff.). There is no evidence that the quantity of unstressed vowels was also preserved, but it is likely that both features, variable quantity of the stressed and of the unstressed syllables, continued to coexist. A phenomenon like this one, so well started before the breaking up of the empire, may well indeed have continued independently in each region. But there is, as we have seen, absolutely no need to make that supposition, as far at least as the three great regions of Romania are concerned. When Pogatscher says: "Doch ist diese Längung freier Tonvokale keineswegs ... eine vulg.-lat. oder gemeinsam vollzogene rom. Erscheinung, sondern beruht auf gleichartiger Sonderentwicklung in den einzelnen rom. Dialekten, da sich zeigen läfst, dafs sie noch einige Zeit nach dem Zerfalle des Römischen Reiches nicht eingetreten ist", in which Meyer-Lübke 1, 636—637 agrees with him, he bases such a statement simply on the supposition that the breaking up of the Roman Empire was the breaking up of Romania.

But we have seen that this purely political dismemberment was more than counter-balanced by a quickening of the spiritual intercourse that completely puts out of the question the idea of a separate existence in the three big regions of Western Romania.

I do not deny that this change of Latin to Romance quantity could not have been carried on singly and individually, since it

had started so early and was clearly indicated by the trend of popular pronunciation which evidenced an increasing liking for the stress as a mode of expression at the expense of pure quantity. This is indeed very possible in the case of phonetic phenomena. Pogatscher, op. loc. cit. refers to Paul's Prinz. 2, 27, who treats of the lengthening of short root vowels (*gĕben* = *gēben*) taking place separately in the various German dialects. Gauchat makes a similar remark in his essay: "L'unité phonétique dans le parler d'une commune" (Festschrift für H. Morf in: Aus rom. Spr. und Lit., Halle, 1905, pp. 175—232) cited by K. Voſsler (Sprache als Sch., p. 102), where he notices similar and independent developments in communities having little intercommunication. However when he adds: "Une langue ne contiendrait-elle pas en elle-même, par sa composition phonétique, les éléments de son évolution", he puts in the interrogative form a principle which is untenable and which it would be too easy to refute.

However that may be, the supposition of an independent development of this phenomenon is useless since, as a matter of fact, the social conditions which it implies did not materialize. If its parallel evolution in the Romance languages is no proof that it was completed during the existence of the Koinê, it is not a proof either that the Koinê had ceased to function.

We now come to the linguistic features which will have a positive significance.

To determine the existence of community of language, the value of the agreement depends essentially on the complexity of the identical phenomena. Being given, for instance a certain phonetic situation as a point of departure, it is very likely that the evolution will follow along lines that may chance to be parallel. For eample, $b = v$ in the Romance languages and in the Germanic; $a = e$ in both these groups of languages etc. The similar production of one or even several of these phonetic phenomena will not necessarily mean community of language. Occasional identity of vocabulary is of as little importance in this respect as Meillet, Int. p. 3, remarks, pointing out to the curious existence of the word *bad* in both English and Persian in the sense of wicked. In the same way, regarding the transformation of the Latin quantity into the Romance, if the phenomenon was not ended when, according to probabilities, the linguistic group that was to become Rumanian became separated, it was none the less a process that had been going on for centuries and was bound to complete itself. This is so evident that it does not need any demonstration here. But the more complex the features identical in several languages are, the more weight this identity carries towards proving linguistic identity. For thus is created a convergence of evidence which excludes pure chance and also parallel individual deve-

lopments. In regard to a law governing Gothic and Latin equally, Max Niedermann (Une loi rythmique proethnique en latin, Mélanges Saussure, p. 52, Coll. ling. pub. par 1. Soc. ling. de Paris, II, 1908) says: "Etant donnée la nature complexe de cette loi rythmique, il faut renoncer d'emblée à vouloir l'expliquer par un développement dialectal identique, et on doit donc admettre qu'elle repose sur une identité proethnique", that is to say, at a period when both languages were still one.

Now there took place between the VIth and the VIIIth century, some characteristic morphological and syntactical phenomena common to the three important regions of Western Romania and to them alone, of such a complex nature that, to use Max Niedermann's words "il faut renoncer d'emblée à vouloir les expliquer par un développement dialectal identique". They are new features of the Latin-Romance of that period. They are common to those parts of Romania which we know to have been penetrated by the great unifying movements mentioned in the first part of this paper. Rumanian, on the other hand, does not know them: it is clear that if they are missing in Rumanian, the reason is that the Valachi were during that period practically severed from the rest of the Latin world. Is it not clear on the other hand that the regions which share in the possession of these complex features only do so because they made up this Latin world, lived the same linguistic life, continued to use a common language?

One of these features is so intricate, it required the concurrence of so many special transformations and their immediate utilization in so peculiar a manner that it would be almost absurd to suppose independent and parallel developments, all the more so, since, as was said above, regions outside the contiguous territories of Romania do not know it.

The Future.

One of theses phenomena is the formation of the future (and conditional) in the West by means of the *infinitive* + *habere*[1].

The classical Latin future was finally superseded by various circumlocutions formed of the infinitive with *habere, debere, velle.*

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[1] The basis of all the work on the subject is Thielmann's in Archiv f. l. L. 2; Meyer-Lübke, Einführung, p. 190, Rom. Gramm. II, 138. There have been of late several works on the subject: Gerhard Rohlfs, Das romanische *Habeo*-Futurum und Konditional (Arch. Roman. VI, 1, 1922, pp. 105—154); Gamillscheg, Studien zur Vorgeschichte einer romanischen Tempuslehre; E. Lerch, Die Verwendung des rom. Futurums, München, 1919. Cf. E. Richter, Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil. 44 (1924), p. 94 ff.; L. Spitzer, Über d. Futurum *cantare habeo,* Zeitschr. f. franz. Spr. 94 (1916); Arch. f. neuere Spr. 131, p. 467; Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil. 41, 364; ib. 43, 722.

As E. Gamillscheg remarks in his review of G. Rohlf's work (Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil. 43, 722) even as late as the IXth century, these various forms competed with each other, just like much later in the Middle Ages, the imperfect subjunctive still preserved the conditional function in opposition to the new form. The modern tongue shows more than one trace of this duality. Indeed the new morphological product: *infinitive* + *habere* had, at least by the VIIIth century given two forms which existed side by side; as P. Taylor in a study on the expression of the future in Alcuin's letters (Rom. Review, 1924, 123ff.) has shown: a synthetic one of which the only ascertained case before the Oaths is the famous *daras* of Fredegarius, and an analytical one in which both components remained separated. How much the synthesized form existed in the time of Fredegarius (VIIth century), is open to question. It is isolated in the century and is not to be met with until 842. It is given as an etymology, and it is well known that some violence is often done to words in order to make them fit. Even philologists cannot afford to ignore Rabelais' etymology of Gargantua: Que grand tu as (le gosier) in Gargantua, 1, VII; they must not be taken too literally.

Gabelentz (Die Sprachwissenschaft ^{2}, p. 159) puts the development of the Romance future among the phenomena showing concordance and parallelism of evolution in related languages; but L. Spitzer (loc. cit. and p. 176 of his Aufsätze, Halle, 1918) remarks that there must have been at least in the beginning a common germ. But the possibility of a parallel development is really unthinkable. We may admit with Meyer-Lübke Rom. Gramm. II, 138, that this future started from one center, according to him, the South of France, and spread to other parts of Romania, Northern France and Italy, (and why not Spain also?) and we may also hold with L. Spitzer (cf. Bally, Le Langage et la vie, p. 85) that the formation of that future was due to the need of an affective expression; "for", as L. S. says, "man cannot look at the future objectively: it is the great mystery and is bound to stir him". This expression once created was regularized and made into a grammatical part. It may be that this new expression was not adopted everywhere at once, that the conservative influence of the schools may have delayed its complete victory over the other form. But what is absolutely out of the question is to suppose that this took place in the various parts of Romania at very different periods, according to the more or less rapid pace taken by the evolution of the language, for instance in the Vth century in Southern France and in the XIIIth in Spain. The formation of the future in the three important regions of Romania is based on identical condition of the phonetics of the languages, an ever increasing stress: such futures as *habré, cabré,*

podré, querré, sabré, pondré, saldré, tendré, valdré, vendré, diré, haré, belong essentially to the same formative period as the corresponding forms in French and in Italian. This period as we shall see, in which the ever-increasing strength of the tonic accent brings about important syncopation and production of epenthetic consonants, came to a close much sooner in Italy and Spain than in France. This was a common linguistic phenomenon of late Latin or early Romance; it produced this synthetic future, and must have begun to lose some of its force in Italy and Spain with the birth of the new Italian and Spanish social and political life to which, very likely, corresponded a new linguistic trend (Xth and XIth century). At any rate it is decidedly on the wane when the first literary documents appear. It could not then have produced that future which is evidently the creation of the period of maximum stress: therefore it is contemporaneous with that of the French future, VIIth, VIIIth and IXth centuries.

This view is strengthened by the further consideration that the creation of the future still belongs to the normal Latin word order, with the verb at the end, *dare habeo,* not *habeo dare.* This word order gradually changes to the modern with the IXth century. After that date, the formation of that future would have become impossible, whether synthesized or not; for the new order of words would have prevented its formation. It had to have reached the idiomatic stage, that is the point when the individual meaning of each word was lost in the concept of the whole; this was the ninth century in all these countries.

In other words the only distinction to be made between these languages does not concern the time when the synthetic future was formed but how quickly it superseded the other. As Leo Spitzer remarks, only Northern French does not present any form of the unsynthesized future; all the other languages of the group, North, Central, South, Italian, Provençal, Spanish and Portuguese show both forms at some time of their existence. Northern French was the first to discard the unsynthesized, although it used the organic *cro* by the side of *serai,* quite a long time. Spanish and Portuguese were the last. There is no doubt, however that at the time of Alcuin, these two futures co-existed in the region where he lived, to wit: North of the Loire; for he uses that analytical form in his letters so much that we must admit the influence of the common speech around him, therefore the existence in that common speech of the analytical form by the side of the synthetic.

When Hermann Paul says that language is averse to luxury in expression, he alludes to the tendency which brings about the elimination of duplicate forms. On the other hand, as is commonly agreed (Leo Spitzer: "der sprachliche Luxus hat aber seinen Grund im schöpferischen Charakter der affektvollen menschlichen Psyche",

loc. cit. p. 179. Cf. E. Richter, Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil. 44 [1924], p. 94), new forms are constantly created which from a purely logical, not affective, point of view, duplicate the older forms which they finish sooner or later by replacing. The time it takes them to eliminate the older forms depends on circumstances, some of which we shall later analyze.

In consequence, all the evidence points to the production in common of this future. Had Vulgar Latin as such held it in germ, as it held in germ for instance the transformation of the old quantity into the new one, with all its numerous consequences, there is no reason why all the Romance languages should not have developed it severally and individually: but precisely the groups which were isolated from the rest of Romania during the Merovingian period produced other kinds of future, v. g. Rhaetian, Rumanian.

Out of the many periphrastic forms for the future, both in Late Latin (Grandgent Int. t. V. L. p. 56 ff.) and in the early Germanic languages (Grimm, Deutsche Gramm. 4, 206), social groups composing a linguistic unit used the same form; the others used a different one very naturally.

Also, the possibilities of other substitutes for the Latin future were so numerous and already indicated in Vulgar Latin, that the hypothesis of a coincidence must be clearly rejected, especially since, as we said above, the production of that future must, of necessity, belong to the same period in the three great western regions. The case has nothing to do with various phonetic transformations which may severally proceed along similar lines independently, but which always give different results in the aggregate. For instance, although Spanish is going through the same phonetic transformation of the intervocalic *t* in past participles as French went through eight hundred years ago, yet the result for *amato* is not *aimé* but *amáo*. The production of *tendré* and *tendrai* (*tiendrai*) implies identity of four phonetic developments: coincidence or parallelism hardly played any part in this. Even Italian *terró*, going back to *tenró* indicates a similarity of accentuation characteristic of the early Romance period, eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. If we bear in mind the slow, fluctuating way in which linguistic phenomena of all description take place in a large social group, we will realize that all verbs did not have at first that synthesized future; that it was several centuries before analogy had thus regularized the new formation.

That a language, like Northern French, used at an early date for literature, as early as 813 in sermons and homilies, may have been in the lead both in the extension to all verbs of the new form and in the discarding of the analytical is perfectly natural, although this analytical form may have lasted longer than our docu-

ments show. Up to the XIth century, the documents are scarce enough for us not to conclude too readily that the language did not possess the forms that are not represented in them.

On the other hand we may not set the date of the beginning of the new form too long before the appearance of the first document, *daras* in Fredegarius, 630. It is based on a purely Romance system of accentuation in which stress alone gives quantity, the unstressed disappearing completely. Such a state of affairs is hardly realized before the second half of the sixth century. It was not carried out to full completion until the end of the XVIth century and in France alone. The creation of such forms implied such a decisive step in the evolution of Latin that they could not appear otherwise than sporadically until a long time after their first appearance. For instance, we find in Italian inscriptions, phonetic features like *parents* = *parentes*, which may be considered as predecessors of the French form *parents, Jas* = *Janus* of *mas* = *mansus*; yet we will not assume that such forms were anything but exceptional, the phonetic material out of which a new linguistic system could be built up. In fact this material was abandoned in Italy for the most part and used in France much later, when it fitted into the new harmony and rhythm of the language.

The period of formation of this Romance feature is therefore to be placed between the end of the VIth century and the IXth.

In Gröbers Grundrifs, W. Meyer (Gesch. d. Vulg.-Lat., 37, p. 367) seems to give a different answer when he says that Folk Latin replaced the future by the present; but that its rise to the condition of a written language made it imperative to find an expression for the future, and that was the periphrastic form composed of the *infinitive* + *habere*. The various social functions which devolve upon a language contribute greatly to the elaboration of its morphology, but it is hard to believe that Folk Latin was at any time without a form for the future. The fact that the present will often be used in modern ordinary speech for esthetic reasons, viz. to make the expression more vivid, cannot be taken as meaning that the future is lacking in the common language; although we may well imagine that it could tend to bring about such a condition. But the great number of periphrastic forms which sprang up in Vulgar Latin shows how necessary such an expression was in the spoken language of the Merovingian period. Even such almost purely oral languages as Rumanian and Rhaetian had one; but being separated from the rest of Romania they had to shift for themselves. The state of Latin, when they were thus practically cut off, did not show any indication of what the substitute for the future would be: the Engadine dialects, perhaps under Germanic influence, had recourse to *venire*, felt to be

the equivalent of *werden* = *devenir*; Rumanian, probably under Greek influence had recourse to *velle* (Th. Gärtner, Darst. d. Rum. Spr., Halle, 1904, 112 ff.). But in united Romania, all of the various forms made way more or less completely for that commonly called the Romance form. It swept all the others before it, evidently as an effect of that unity of speech which we claim to have existed then and whose existence it helps to prove.

The Passive.

Were this feature the only one developed during the Merovingian period, it might be argued that, as one swallow does not mean the spring, one linguistic form created in all regions presumably at the same time may simply indicate coincidence due to similar conditions.

But we have other linguistic products of a still more complex nature that we can follow fairly accurately as to time and procedure, and which occur in a similar manner in France and Italy, and evidently in Spain also. The lack of long, original texts in Spain anterior to the IXth century, the first original document other than inscriptions being of the year 857, does not allow us to control their occurence there; but the results being similar, we must infer that the antecedents were also alike.

One of these phenomena is the transformation of the Latin synthetic passive system into the Romance, which took place from the VIth to the VIIIth century. I have expounded the process of this transformation in another work to which I beg to refer the reader for fuller details[1].

I will but briefly indicate here the successive stages of this phenomenon.

First let us dispose of E. Stimming's opinion (loc. cit.) that the passive meaning was but an artificial adjunct to the infinitive. The inference would be that it lost that meaning very easily by the very nature of things. The reason for this condition was that the infinitive is more of a substantive than a verb and cannot therefore appropriate to itself permanently purely verbal connotations. As a matter of fact the verbal idea in the infinitive was very strong in Latin as it is still in French to-day and in the Romance languages in general. The passive connotation which is inherent to our verbal system, including Latin, was properly made an essential component of the infinitive when, in opposition to the Indo-

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[1] Origine et histoire de la préposition à dans les locutions du type de "faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un", Poitiers 1912, chap. V.

I was unfortunately unable to use Prof. Meyer-Lübke's last article on the subject: Vom Wesen des Passivums NS. XXXIV, pp. 161—184.

European condition, the infinitive had become a part of the verb; and it has preserved this faculty and this function. While the passive idea was expressed synthetically in the greater part of the verb (by an ending), it was thus expressed in the infinitive; when the unaccented ending became incapable of conveying this important meaning, recourse had to be had to periphrastic expressions. This may have partly changed the nature of the passive, but not more in the infinitive than in the other tenses. In fact the verbal idea was so strongly entrenched in the infinitive that the disappearance of the specific passive form in that mood brought on a like fate in the other moods.

If the infinitive was the first part of the verb to lose the specific ending of the passive, it was due to the particularly fragile character of that ending in the infinitive.

As early as the end of the VIth century, even the best and most reliable documents evidence a great uncertainty as to the ending of the passive infinitive in the verbs of the first, second and fourth conjugations. In the case of the third conjugation, on the other hand, such confusion does not become marked until the eighth century. How is so notable a difference in dates to be accounted for? Very conclusively by the fact of the close ressemblance to each other of the active and passive forms of the Latin present infinitive in verbs of the first, second, and fourth conjugations (*-are, -ari*; *-ere, -eri*; *-ire, -iri*), over against the striking divergence of these forms in verbs of the third conjugation (*regere, regi*; *dicere, dici*).

A few examples may suffice here to illustrate the proceeding: Quae a sacerdotibus necesse est *quoercere* (Concil. Cabil. XVII, MGH. L. 3, Cons. I, p. 211). Ubi Pippinus rex *requiescere* videtur et nos si Domino placuerit *sepelire* cupimus (Tardif, 63); but Parvulos iussit *interfici* (Fredeg. 2, 23, MGH., SRM. 2, p. 57), which shows that the passive meaning was still felt even when it was not expressed. This, by the way, is often the case with morphological transformations as Brunot (Hist. de la langue franç., I, p. 452) remarks apropos of the disappearance of declensional endings in French.

The active and passive forms of the infinitive of the third conjugation do not become generally confused until the eighth century. They then do so and the present passive infinitive can be said to have disappeared from the spoken language by the second half of the century although this disappearance does not seem to have had any immediate effects on the syntax: Quur humiliasti gentem nostram ut te *vincere* permitteres (LHF. 18, p. 272). Ideo credimus eum merito ad sacerdotium *provehere* (V. Desid. 13). Sic mandant filii tui si vis *tundere* aut gladium *peremeri* (infantulos) (LHF. 24, 280). Mallet eos *occidere* quam *totundere* (ib.).

Fieri is a shining exception to this general rule and this is due to its characteristic form so different from facere: Donationis ista quam nos . . . *fiere* vel *adfirmare* rogavimus (Tardif, 68, an. 770). Donationem istam quam ego . . . *fieri* et *conscribere* rogavi (ib. 93, an. 794).

It serves also to express the passive meaning and in this function has passed into Italian: Hoc *fiat* investigatum et nobis nuntiatum (Pertz, L., p. 120, 803).

This process was certainly completed by 789, when Charlemagne convoked the great council of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The last documents before the influence of Charlemagne's reform began to be felt are instructive; they offer us clear indications of what was being resorted to in the cases where a passive form for the infinitive was felt to be imperatively needed. The old Latin form having died out, the compound with *esse* is made use of: Qualiter ... ipsa aelemosina fiat facta et infra triginta noctis impleta *esse* debeant (Pertz, L. Cap. gen. 8, an. 783). There is in this document no synthetic passive except *fieri*: ut haec omnis suprascripta justitia de praesentia ... adimpleta *fieri* debeant ...; ita tamen ut quindecim dies post sanctum pascha omnia adimpleta *esse* debeant (ib. 10, p. 44).

There is surely a difference between the state of the language in the second quarter of the eight century, when the present passive infinitive had practically lost its distinctive ending, yet was still felt as passive, and that of the last quarter, when the need was felt to adopt a new form of expression for the passive meaning.

Now this confusion of passive and active forms thus gradually brought about is as good a proof as can be found that the Latin synthetic passive had not died out of the spoken language: it is, at first, on the contrary, a purely phonetic phenomenon (until analogy came into play for the third conjugation) and, until its completion, is but a reflexion of a similar confusion prevalent in the speech of the people. No man writing Latin as an artificially learned language would make such a confusion; *-are*, *-ari* would scarcely be more easily confused than *dicere*, *dici*, or *facere*, *fieri*. If he knew that the passive infinitive should be used, he would write it, and the easier the form, the less likely would he be to make a mistake. But the man whose knowledge of the language was acquired through practical use will naturally confuse the forms which are most alike phonetically.

Also when, through phonetic assimilation, the Latin present passive infinitive had disappeared, it is evident that the passive construction in general must have suffered considerably. Although in some constructions (as those with *faire*) the passive meaning continued to cling to the active form, in most others, when the meaning was not thus sustained by a synthetic locution, compound

forms must have been used, and indeed in the legal document quoted above, it is so used exclusively. This is all the more striking because throughout the Merovingian period the distiction between the meaning of the compound passive (*esse* + *participle*) and the simple form is well observed. And yet most of writings of that period are much more incorrect, transgress many more laws of the Latin grammar, than this capitulary does.

So, as has been pointed out above, the passing of the present passive infinitive calling forth a more frequent use of the compound form, must have affected by analogy the other moods. And this is what our scanty documents show us. The end of the eighth century witnesses an evident attempt, on the part of the language, at finding a substitute for the regular passive voice. Thus the Capitulare Generale of 783, when Charlemagne's renaissance had not yet produced all its effects, gives us the following examples:

(1) et per tales homines in antea *sint gubernatae* qualiter Deo et nobis exinde placeant.

(2) ... set per sacerdotes *fiant* ... *gubernatas.*

(8) ... qualiter ... ipsa aelemosina *fiat facta* et infra triginta noctes *impleta esse* debeant.

(14) De rebus quae Hildegardae reginae traditae fuerunt, volumus ut *fiant descriptae* breves et ipsae breves ad nos *fiant adductae.*

(17) Sicut consuetudo fuit ... ita nunc *sit factum.*

The examples of regular passive forms are surely in miniority:

(10) et nulla consuetudo *superponatur* legi.

(16) De fugitivis ... ut reddantur et *sint reversi* ad proprium locum (Capit. Gen., 783, Pertz, Leg. I).

And even later, when, through Charlemagne's reform, the written language was diverging more and more from the common speech (or the other way around), one can still trace the influence of the latter over the former in this respect, although, of course, the cases occur more sporadically. In the Capitulare Langobardicum of 786 (Pertz, op. cit., p. 51) we find:

(7) Quomodo illum sacramentum *juratum esse* debeat ab episcopis et abbatis.

(8) Et si alicui contra legem *factum est* non est voluntas nec sua jussio. Verumtamen si comis ... hoc fecit *fiat annuntiatum* domni regi,

as against one case of regular passive infinitive (perhaps due to later corrections).

(9) quando vel ubi debeant inter se *conjungi.*

And in the Capit. of 802 (Pertz, op. cit., p. 107):

(12) Et unusquisque filium suum litteras ad discendum mittat et ibi cum omni sollicitudine permaneat usque dum bene *instructus permaneat.*

In the Capit. Saxon., 797 (do., p. 72):
(7) si ab eis aliquis *interfectus evenerit.*

One fact stands out very clearly, viz., the chronological order of these events and the evident reflexion therein of similar tendencies in the common speech.

It is clear that the remarkably long duration of the process of elimination of the Latin present passive infinitive, based on authentic and relatively numerous documents in manuscripts of the Merovingian period (that is to say, anterior to the Carolingian Renaissance), would be unintelligible without the support of the synthetic Latin passive forms in the other moods. Also the Latin syntax, as far as it was based on the use of synthetic passive forms, must have stood its ground through the whole period. It is only as part of this system that the Latin passive infinitive resisted so long the effects of the phonetic confusion, which otherwise should have brought on its prompt disappearance.

On the contrary, the necessary creation of an analytical present passive infinitive (or rather the utilization of a form already existing and having partly the same meaning) to take the place of the synthetic one when the latter had disappeared, must have influenced by analogy the other moods: *amatu esse* being now felt as a present action, *amatu sum* must also have been felt as a present action instead of as a past action continuing into the present. This step could be taken all the more easily, as the other past *amatu fui* might well have seemed sufficient, as it had been used right along since the earliest period to emphasize the past idea, that is to say, in an affective way. The latter connotation wearing away left a purely morphological locution ready to supersede the regular form.

Traces of the former condition cling to the Romance forms in so far as they express the condition resulting from the act, which was the Latin meaning, as well as the act itself, which is their new function[1].

We are not able to follow in the texts the reflexion of the complete disintegration of the Latin passive verb which must, by then (end of the eighth century), have taken place in the common speech. But the documents of that period, such as those quoted above, give us a pretty clear indication of what is then going on. From 786 the Carolingian documents fail us more and more in this and many other particulars. Charlemagne had by that time proceeded with his long-cherished plan of restoring Letters. Alcuin had come to his court in 781, Paulus Diaconus was called

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[1] The elements of this discussion are borrowed from an article published in the Rom. Rev. 12 (1921), p. 318ff.

over to France in 778. In 786 the encyclical on the culture of letters was sent out to the bishops and abbots. Not only children of the poor, but of the rich as well, must attend the schools to be created. Then in 789 the epoch-making synod of Aix-la-Chapelle was held.

This transformation is to be found in Italy as well as in France during the same period, and also the same treatment of *fieri*: qui hanc cartula ... *fieri* rogavit (Murat. Ant. 9, 254, an. 765) but: qui *unc* libellum *scribere* rogavi (ib. 266, an. 801); the same use of the active infinitive in a passive sense: casa et rebus ... quibus *rectas fuerunt* per quondam Benedicto et usque modo per nos ipsis *regere* videtur (ib. 279, an. 813); same use of the periphrastic passive: Ecclesia vero ipsa, seo casis et rebus quibus antea *rectas sunt* per quondam Majorino Presbitero, et usque modo per me ipso *rectas esse* videntur (ib. 269, an. 819). Instead of *esse*, *fieri* as auxiliary of the passive verb may be used: alia loca ... decrevimus ut per ipsum monasterium S. Bartholomei *fiant* ordinata et disposita (do. 14, 466, an. 767).

Although Spanish documents for the same period fail us, those of a later period but representing a more ancient state of affairs indicate a similar evolution: hoc testamentum quod *fieri* jussimus et *legere* audivimus (Esp. Sag. T. 37, p. 722, era 861).

It is very clear that there is here no dialectal peculiarity. K. Sittl (Die lok. Versch. d. lat. Spr., Erlangen, 1882, p. 55) had, on the faith of F. Bleihm (Die Gens Long. II, Ihre Spr., Bonn, 1874, p. 40) seen in this use of *fieri* a Lombard feature due to Germanic influence (werden?). We have noticed that this use is not peculiar to Italy: we find it in France at the same time as we can see from the few examples cited above. It is, both in France and in Italy, interchangeable with *esse* and is due to the same reason: the crumbling down of the passive infinitive bringing about the disappearance of the whole synthetic system.

There is no need to suppose a Germanic influence for it. *Fieri* is used because it had always been one of its functions when, during the classical period, the result and not the action had been expressed in a passive construction: ut sic deuteretur victo quin aut interfici aut missum *fieri* iuberet (Nep. Eum. 11). The innovation consisted here in the extended use of *fieri* + *participle* to designate the action as well as the result. Through this more frequent use and the loss of that distinction in the passive, *fieri* became the equivalent of esse. The Cassel Glossary translates *fieri* by *wesen* (not *werden*).

Now, while these changes were taking place in the West, another development was going on in the East. When the future Rumanians became separated from the rest of Romania, the analytical passive of the western Romance languages had not even begun

to be indicated: *fieri* was used with the past participle in a few technical expressions but with such a restricted meaning that the possibilities of this construction were not to become apparent until more than two centuries later. The use of *esse* with the past participle was equally limited to the expression of the past action, which seemed to preclude definitely its extension.

There was, however, a construction which had been, at least since the time of Cato, often employed instead of the passive, and this was the reflexive: v. g. Cato agr. 45, 3 se fors dare visa est; Ter. Hec. 380 nobis ut res dant sese; Sen. Ep. 10, 3, locus se dedit (Cf. The passive voice in Vulg. Lat. Rom. Rev. 15 [1924], p. 87; Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. II, 113). This was the only indication given by the Latin Koinê to Rumanian Romance at the end of the VIth century: it was also the one that it followed up. When through the inevitable disintegration of the Latin synthetic passive, due to the disappearance of the old quantity and the progress of the stress accent, Rumanian had to find a substitute form, it took the one that was at hand, viz: the reflexive. Reduced by its isolation to a lower vitality it could not create a new passive out of its own ressources; Western Romance, thanks to the stamina it owed to the various ethnical groups that spoke it, the greater spiritual life that animated it and, consequently, to the more varied uses to which it was put, lost that synthetic passive very gradually, at least in the beginning, and then received from one of its functions, probably the legal one, a substitute that was evolved in the evident desire to remain very explicit. The unity of speech allowed that substitute to be introduced and adopted everywhere.

Here again, if Rumanian did not adopt that passive, it was because it was out of contact with the regions that produced it, and on the other hand the regions that adopted it together only did so on account of their common linguistic unity.

Idiomatic construction with *facere.*

Were these two important new creations the only ones ascertained at this period (VI—VIIIth cent.), they would be sufficient to constitute strong presumptions in favor of the continued existence of the Koinê. But there is another new feature in the domain of syntax, produced at the same period, common to the three Western regions of Romania, and of course unknown to Rumanian, of such complexity and peculiar character as to appear decisive in this matter: it is the important Romance expression of the type of *faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un.*

I have shown elsewhere that in the locutions of this type, we have crystallized the very common Latin construction *iubeo aliquid ab aliquo fieri,* in which *fieri* is replaced by *facere,* without

any change of meaning and the agent *ab aliquo,* by its alternate the dative of the agent, *alicui,* which in time becomes *ad aliquem,* with the general substitution of *ad* to the dative. The various steps would be something like this: *iubeo aliquid ab aliquo fieri, iubeo aliquid alicui fieri, iubeo aliquid alicui facere, iubeo aliquid ad aliquem facere.*

Ex.: Ego si *ab* improbis et perditis civibus rem publicam teneri viderem (Cic. fam. 7, 1, 9); Festivis diebus veniente ad ecclesiam poppulo fac *eis* (= a presbyteris) praedicari verbum Dei (Vit. Vedas. 415); Ipse domnus rex Pippinus adfirmabat quod semper a sua infantia ipsos teloneos *partebus* sancti Dionisii habere et colligere vidisset (Dipl. Karl. 1, 12, 18, 2, an. 757). Et hoc dicebant quod ante hos annos quando Carlus fuit ejectus per Soanachylde cupiditate et Gairefredo Parisius Comite insidiante, per eorum consensu *ad* illos necuciantes vel mercadantes per deprecationem unumquemque hominem ingenuum dinarius quattuor dare fecissent (Tardif, 55, an. 753).

The reader has recognized in the last example the Romance locution we are considering. In modern French it would have read something like this: . . . *ils faisaient donner* (= *payer*) *aux* (= *par les*) *négociants ou marchands . . . quatre deniers.*

Let us first remark however that the passive connotation of *dare* is still strong because, although in appearance, the passive infinitive was no longer distinguished from the active, the rest of the passive conjugation continued to be alive a while longer, and preserved in that infinitive the faculty of expressing the passive meaning. *Fieri* would probably have been used instead of *facere* if the Latin equivalent of *faire* in the locution had been required by the sense of the sentence. Cf. Donationis ista quam nos . . . *fiere* vel adfirmare rogavimus (Tardif, 68, an. 770).

Then it was that this common Latin construction thus transformed became a locution or an idiom in the language, becoming as it did, restricted to a small number of verbs, the most common being *facere.* They were often used, and so preserved bodily a synthetic construction which had generally dropped out of the language through the disappearance of the synthetic passive, so that the linguistic conditions of its creation having changed, the expression is no longer explainable by the actual and present laws of the language, which enhances its idiomatic character. This construction is used in the making of so many Romance idioms that it is almost morphological in character. It was not, and could not be, evolved until the second half of the eighth century; it synthesizes and perpetuates two Latin functions in the very act of their passing out of existence: 1st, the passive infinitive when it could no longer be distinguished from the active while still preserving the faculty of expressing the passive idea according to

the context, that is to say before the breaking down of the Latin synthetic passive in the other moods[1]; 2nd the so-called ethical dative (or of interest) of the passive verb at a moment when the dative was very extensively replaced by the preposition *ad* and when, with the passing out of the Latin syntax of the passive verb, it was to be generally discarded.

This phenomenon marks a date in the history of the evolution of the Romance languages.

We cannot admit that it existed, as it were, in germ in the Latin language and that it could evolve automatically in the various dialects, independently from one another. Rumanian does not have it, because when the future Rumanians were separated from the Roman Empire the numerous conditions which were necessary to its production and which had to come together to give it birth, were immersed in a sea of many other elements: the latter had to be shifted and transformed to bring the former together in such complex and new relations as to preclude every possibility of chance or parallel development: the languages that possess the locution evolved it together, that is to say at the time when they still formed the Koinê. In other words, in order to bring about such a construction: ad illos necuciantes vel mercadantes . . . dinarius quatuor *dare* fecissent (Tardif 55), it was necessary: a, that *facere* should come to be used very frequently almost to the exclusion of all other Latin expressions to signify causality; b, that all sorts of datives should begin to be expressed quite generally by *ad*; c, that the passive infinitive should have, very gradually, become confused in form with the active, while preserving a passive function; d, that the passive function preserved by the infinitive of active form should have been more and more limited to special locutions surviving, bodily, as relics of a disappearing Latin syntax; e, that the personal moods of the synthetic passive should have been in constant use, in order to keep alive the passive connotation in the active form of the infinitive long enough for a synthetic idiomatic locution to be created; f, that the Latin synthetic passive should then have gone out of existence in order to isolate the construction and make it idiomatic, so that, although in this peculiar locution the infinitive preserves a certain passive shade of meaning, it does not do so in the others: one can say in French for instance: je fais *chanter* cette chanson à (par) votre frère, but not: je veux

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[1] Cf. H. F. Muller, Origine et histoire de la preposition à, Poitiers, 1912 . . . R. Rubel and E. Stimming after they had made a thorough study of this thesis and brought forth some pertinent criticism on various points, some of which I readily subscribe to, admit the main results of the investigation: 1st that the Latin synthetic passive was thus disintegrated; 2nd that the locution was produced at that time in the conditions therein indicated.

chanter cette chanson à (par) votre frère in the sense of volo hanc cantilenam *cantari* a tuo fratre. Had it been but a case of the return of the infinitive to its Indo-European substantive value, there would have been no reason for such a sharp distinction; g, that the ethical dative of the agent of the passive verb should have been more and more resticted and practically limited to this locution.

And all these phenomena had to take place in a certain order, and chronologically. For instance, had the personal moods of the passive gone out of existence before the infinitive, never would the infinitive with its weak ending have retained enough passive meaning to be a component of the locution; the locution had to be formed out of an extensive use of *facere* and a limited use of the infinitive construction. This took quite a long time, during which the infinitive had to preserve a strong passive meaning. Had the passive infinitive of the third conjugation gone down at the same time with those of the other conjugations, this would have weakened the passive meaning of the infinitive, in general, so much as to prevent the formation of the idiom.

On the other hand, this extensive use of *facere*, taking the place of the many expressions which Latin had to express causality. (Orig. p. 102 ff.) is one which grows gradually in importance from the fourth century to reach its height in the VIIIth cent., when in some cases it is added gratuitously to the main verb almost to the point of becoming auxiliary, which function it preserved well into the Middle Ages (cf. L. Spitzer, Zs. f. Sp. Lit. 1915). It is quite clear that although this locution is used with other verbs than *facere*, it is mostly used with it and owes its preservation to the intensive construction of *facere* with the infinitive, essentially a phenomenon characterizing the evolution of Latin in the Merovingian period. Now here again, when the future Rumanians became separated from the Roman Empire, *facere* had hardly entered upon its career of greater development. *Facere*, therefore, did not progress in Rumanian as it did in the West; it has not formed any particularly typical and useful construction. And although it might be argued that Rumanian may have lost it just as Spanish lost *ibi, inde* and *de* (partitive), and Rhaetian the Romance construction of personal pronoun object + verb (Th. Gärtner, Handb. d. Rät. Sp. und Lit., Halle, 1910, p. 52, 173), yet in both these cases, the former state of the language has left traces in the older documents and in the present language, which could not be said of Rumanian in regard to *facere* or the construction it helped form in the West.

Even the use and position of the article are interesting in this respect. The article is quite a late development in the language; assuredly indications of what functions the demonstrative might

be put to, are quite numerous from the VIth century, that is to say before the complete separation of the future Rumanians. For instance in S. Benedict. Regu. XLIII, Migne, 66, 676: qui ad *illum* vasum non fuerit praesens; ib. LV, 771: ut non sint curta *ipsa* vestimenta utentibus sed mensurata. These two pronouns, *ille* and *ipse,* seem to compete with one another for the new function, but *ille* is on the whole preferred.

Yet it is not until the latter part of the VIIIth century that the frequent, pleonastic use of the pronoun, and principally *ille,* announces the progress of this new development. Such cases as the following, although not so common as one would imagine, are quite striking: Chrod-Reg., Migne, 89, 1113: Et *illas* cappas et *illos* sarciles et *illa* calceamenta de *illos* teloneos superius nominatos . . et de *illo* calciatico quod *ille* episcopus annis singulis ad *illum* clerum reddere consuevit et de eorum eleemosyna quod ad *ipsum* cleru specialiter Deus dederit sint comparata; ib. 1119: Et constituimus eis ut . . . quando ad *illam* lectionem audiendam venerint, singuli singulos panes et portionen de lardo *illa* una vice, *illa* alia vice portionem de formatico.

Very instructive in this respect is indeed a comparison of Chrodegang's Regula (770) with that of his model S. Benedict (563), in which the position of the demonstrative (*ille,* etc.) is quite constantly after the noun: cf. VII, 378 ad exaltationem *illam*; scala *illa*; descensus *ille* etc. So when the future Rumanians became separated from the rest of Romania, the position of the demonstrative, before or after the noun, was still a matter of style. It more often followed it. An indication of the long duration of that hesitancy in the position of the determinative before or after the noun is the survival in old Italian and in the popular speech of Italy of certain locutions in which the possessive adjective follows the noun: *padremo, padreto, padreso*; Dante has *signorso* (cf. Meyer-Lübke & d'Ovidio, Gram. st. it., Milan, 1919, 103); and also the position of the emphatic possessive in Italian, Spanish and Old French.

It is therefore no wonder that Rumanian selected the prevalent usage at the time of its branching out independently, and made it, under Slav influence, into a fast law with remarkable new developments.

Rumanian life was then so isolated that it did not adopt a usage which was extended away beyond the Latin linguistic frontier: the so-called plural of majesty or politeness (Th. Gartner, op. cit. 93). This plural, whose origin may have been the custon of addressing each individual emperor while having in mind the imperial dynasty and the two emperors, cannot go back farther than the IVth century (E. Châtelain, Revue de Philol. 1880, p. 128 ff.; O. Riemann and H. Goelzer, Gram. comp. d. grec et d. lat. 1899, p. 766. For a

different interpretation, cf. Grimm, Deutsch. Gram. IV, pp. 299—302; Diez, Gram. III, 57; Meyer-Lübke III, 97). It begins very clearly in the Vth century, in Ennodius for instance (474—521) (cf. La latinité d'Ennodius, A. Dubois, Paris, 1903, pp. 313—316). It is an important feature in the letters of Pope Gregory the Great (ca. 600) (H. F. Muller, The use of the plural of reverence in the letters of Pope Gregory I, Rom. Rev. V, p. 68 ff.), but it must have been, at first, an expression used in the higher spheres of society, and only gradually did it come down to the common people.

These various phenomena are of the highest importance to determine three essential facts: 1st, the state of the vulgar tongue at the time of the separation of Rumanian from the rest of Romania; 2nd, the period when Vulgar Latin ceases, so to speak, to be and Romance begins; that is to say when these phenomena have so changed some of the main features of Latin that the language cannot be said to be Latin any more. This condition was brought to the people's consciousness by the so-called Renaissance of Charlemagne (ca. 780), and the acknowledgement of the separate existence of the Romana lingua rustica 813; 3rd, this latter period is also that before which it cannot be said that the dialectalisation of Romance had already begun to produce several languages; for these important features evolved in Western Romania at the same time, imply a linguistic community in the three main regions incompatible with real dialectalisation.

Seeing that we can follow the reflexion of all these phenomena in the writings of the Merovingian period, there is no inconvenience in considering their gradual appearance therein as more or less contemporaneous with their actual creation in the language of the people. That they are direct transformations and adaptations of classical features is manifest on the face of it. Although E. Stimming's opinion is right in general, that it is not enough for a Romance phenomenon to be similar to a Latin one for the former to be derived from the latter; yet when the same feature is traced right through from the early Latin period to the Romance time, as is the case with the features embodied in the above constructions, and is periodically transformed according to the linguistics of the successive generations, it stands to reason that the Romance feature is the outcome of the Latin.

Chapter X.

Recent origin of important linguistic features characterizing French, Italian and Spanish.

In this I know I seem to disagree with Prof. Meyer-Lübke whose opinion is thus expressed: "Wo immer wir hinblicken, sehen wir, daſs die Zeit vom 4.—6. Jahrh. diejenige ist, in der die für die einzelnen romanischen Sprachen charakteristischen Veränderungen namentlich des Lautsystems eingetreten sind: Nur wenig hat der arabische Stoff des Spanischen und Portugiesischen oder der slavische des Rumänischen mitgemacht. Die neue sprachliche und nationale Orientierung im alten Römerreich setzt in dieser Zeit mit Macht ein, um dann, an den einen Orten rascher, an den andern langsamer sich weiter zum heutigen Zustande auszubilden. Die Gründe liegen in der Völkerwanderung, in der Mischung mit den neu hinzugekommenen Nationen, nicht im Sinne einer Beeinflussung durch das Lautsystem der sich assimilierenden, sondern im Sinne der Lösung älterer Verhältnisse und Beziehungen, dem Aufhören oder sehr starken Nachlassen der die Sprachentwicklung hemmenden oder doch verlangsamenden Kräfte" (Das Katal., p. 188).

I do indeed believe with M.-L. that the Arabic, Slavic, also Germanic material of Spanish and Portuguese, Rumanian, French and Italian has little to do with their characteristic transformations, especially in the domain of phonetics. I think, however, that in the individual evolution of these languages they are not all to be put on the same plane; that for instance Rumanian evolved separately long before the others, as I think I have shown by some conclusive facts. I also believe that these centuries from the fourth on, mark a powerful forward and constructive movement towards the Romance languages or rather Romance. But I see absolutely no reason to create a period from the fourth to the sixth centuries: the latter limit corresponds to very little that is of paramount linguistic and social value; the period from the eighth to the ninth does, on the other hand. The mighty currents that make for divergence and individual developments are no longer counteracted by centripetal forces; and they become firmly established. Their origin may

surely be very remote; as a matter of fact it is very closely related to geographical conditions, it is a chapter of human geography; but, as we shall see further on, these conditions could not produce their full effects until transposed into social factors, that is to say, until a real regional life of the spirit, radiating from local centers had begun to be felt. Under the Gothic and Merovingian dynasties, there never was a local culture in the most general sense of the word: the main currents and movements as we have seen were all general, Latin or Romance in character.

We may verify this view by examining some of the most significant and characteristic features of the various western Romance languages, and we will find that they appear quite late, or at any rate do not become prevalent until after the VIIIth century.

Under the Roman Empire the main factor in linguistic evolution is the growing force of the tonic accent which is gradually absorbing quantity, transforming vowels and consonants, suppressing weaker sounds, eliminating morphological elements in the words. It is manifestly common to the whole empire; among many of its effects, it produces this most important phenomenon: the syncope. Pirson (Lang. d. Insc. lat. de la Gaule, p. 53) seems to be in doubt about the general character of the syncope, but without adequate cause. Whatever may be the present condition and attitude of the various Romance languages in regard to it to-day, as a consequence of the new linguistic spirit which has guided their reconstruction, their Vulgar Latin prototype shows unmistakably the same tendency. And very justly so; for the predominance of the tonic accent over the other rhythmic elements is the main cause of the transformation of Latin into Romance; had it been much less in any region, Latin would have remained Latin there. The reasoning on which one bases the expectation (Pirson, p. 48) that the syncope should have been greater in Gaul than elsewhere is due to a misconception, viz.: that French, Provençal, Italian, etc. have developed blindly, mechanically without reference to the social and cultural conditions. Of course a comparative study of the syncope of Vulgar Latin words in the various regions is most desirable, but we venture here the prediction that it will show absolutely no local differences: the difference of treatment is posterior to the Latin period. Pirson, as a matter of fact, is not able, (op. cit. p. 49) to adduce any other kinds of syncope for Gaul than those common to all other regions. The inscriptions show very clearly that all of them, including Italy, whose literary language will later be characterized by a lesser degree of syncopation, present similar phenomena of this sort.

Here are but a few specimens taken at random from Diehl's most useful booklets: all regions are equally well represented:

aitricis = *adiutricis* CIL III, 981, Diehl 537; *anz* = *annis* VI, 17803, D. 187; *vist* VIII, 18450, D. 85; *quicant* = *quiescunt* III, 2817, D. 137; *mesoleus* = *mausoleus* II, 4174, D. 1016; *gemnos* = *geminos* VI, 2662, D. 1088; *dulcismae* = *dulcissimae* III, 10783, D. 1117; *postus* = *positus* XIV, 1755, D. 1184; *fustis* = *fuistis* VI, 7470, D. 1194; *mitavit* VI, 23680, D. 1327; *vinti* = *viginti* VIII, 16566, D. 1413; *infriores* VI, 28598, D. 1508; *suaciam* = *sebaciaram* VI, 3033, D. (Pomp.) 236, etc.

Besides, a study of the Romance languages will show conclusively that the words of Vulgar Latin origin have been treated alike in this respect: *laridus* = *lardus*; *vetulus* = *veclus*; *manducare* = *mandcare*, etc. Consider these few Italian words: *barica* = *barca*; *digito* = *dito*; *vertragus* = *veltro*; *pisitare* = *pestare*; *ambitare* = *andare*; *flavitare* = *fiutare*; *miscitare* = *mestare*; *caballicare* = *cavalcare*; *verecundia* = *vergogna*, etc., etc.

In this respect, again, the difference is not in the Latin prototype but in the subsequent development. In Italy or in Spain as well as in Gaul, Vulgar Latin tended to eliminate all post-tonic vowels, whether they came after the main accent *vetulus* = *vetlus*, or after the secondary *caballicare* = *cavalcare*; it tended, therefore, also to reduce all dactylic into trochaic endings.

For instance all the suffixes of Vulgar Latin origin are trochaic[1] even if in Latin they are dactylic, *arius* = *ajo*, *icius* = *iccio*, *aculum* = *aglio*, etc. There are apparent exceptions to this, for Italian (and to a lesser degree Spanish) possess dactylic suffixes. The six most important dactylic suffixes of Italian are, *olo*, v. g. *avolo*, *boccolo*; *evole*; *atico*, *otico*, v. g. *falotico*, *malotico*; *aggine*, *tudine*.

Two of them *aggine*, *tudine* are admittedly of learned, therefore recent origin (Meyer-Lübke, II, 430); *evole*, is a dactylic reconstruction with an epenthetic *o*, *evle* = *evole*; as a matter of fact, it may be said, that both the introduction of the epenthetic vowel and syncopation are contemporaneous, both produced by the greater ictus of the tonic accent; but in the former case the increase of force bears on the consonant, in the latter more on the vowel: v. g. *reipubulice* (CIL XII, 5519); *tempulo* (CIL XII, 649). It might be argued, however, that this more sonorous pronunciation of the consonant, causing epenthesis, has become a prominent Italian feature; therefore that the presence of such a phenomenon in the Latin period indicates a marked regional pronunciation. The answer is that the phenomenon of epenthesis does not characterize Italian inscriptions any more than syncopation characterizes Gallo-Roman ones. Both belong to the Koinê, and will not become

[1] Die Suffix-Wandlungen im Vulgärlatein ... G. Cohn, Halle, 1891.

regional features until much later, until after the breaking up of the Koinê [1].

Atico is no more a direct transformation of *aticus* than it is in Spanish where it is a learned doublet of *azgo*. That is why it is so poor in new developments in comparison with its French equivalent *age*, which has to be borrowed in quite a number of instances. *Otico* (*falotico, malotico*) also bears the earmarks of a relatively recent origin, and for the same reason. The Sardinian *bolodigo* could not be adduced against this view, for Sardinian, clearly conservative and isolated, is not essentially an Italian dialect, as Dante saw very clearly. There remains the rather frequently used *olo* (*avole, bocciolo, cintolo*).

Even admitting its Vulgar Latin origin, and that is not proven, it remains very exceptional and cannot be used as evidence of a smaller degree of syncopation, or a weaker ictus of the tonic accent in Italy.

We shall later show how, after the VIIIth century, linguistic community being broken up, the evolution of Romance in Italy, Spain and Gaul follows along strongly diverging lines, the principal difference being that this Vulgar Latin movement, bringing about syncopation, is arrested in Italy and to a lesser degree in Spain, and a decided adherence to what late Latin rhythm has been retained, is noticeable.

There is even a marked return to the dactylic rhythm which Vulgar Latin tended, as we have seen, to eliminate, but which, by the IXth century had not yet reached this result. There are many proofs of that fact: let it suffice here to say that French, which continued this Vulgar Latin tendency most thoroughly, still showed in the XIIth century dactylic words like *angele, aneme,* etc. words of a peculiar nature, it is true, but whose rhythm could yet be preserved, which indicates that the language had not then lost all feeling for it. It is not, therefore, necessary to suppose that Italian preserved this *olo* suffix from the Latin period. It may more likely have borrowed it later and made it a favorite one, for reasons which it would be too long to inquire into now.

Syncopation is one of the most important phonetic features of Latin evolution in France; yet down to the IXth century, all regions shared alike in the possession of this phenomenon, and nothing could have then made one foresee that later it would continue to its logical outcome in France while it would be stopped or

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[1] In fact the two examples given above are Gallo-Roman; but similar examples are found in Spain (Carnoy, 102; Italy, Africa Schuchardt II, 407). Even after Meyer-Lübke's explanation (I, 313) we feel that we have here an increase of ictus which at times affected the consonant, as it does so extensively in Italian.

even reversed in Italy and Spain. This difference of treatment is therefore of recent origin.

The same is true of practically all the other phonetic developments which to-day characterize respectively the individual Romance languages of the West: they are either of recent origin, as in Spanish the very striking transformation of consonants or groups of consonants $s = j$; its curious metatheses of the type of *spatula = espalda, multo = mucho*; the restoration of a final unaccented vowel; or in Italian the reviving of the dactylic rhythm, the doubling of consonants; or else, they were already in germ in Vulgar Latin, but in the Koinê, without any distinction of regions: v. g. the prothetic *i (e)* is found in Italian inscriptions although Italian seems to have discarded it: *isperabi* CIL X, 8189; *istatuam* CIL XI, 5996. We have commented, in the Introduction on various phenomena of this kind.

In morphology, such important Latin and late Latin developments as the use of the partitive with the preposition *de* or the pronominal use of such adverbs as *inde* and *ibi*, among some of the most typical features of Italian and French are very curiously absent from the Hispanic languages. Yet already in the classical period they were, especially the former, playing an important part in the syntax of the language, v. g. equites enim vocabantur primis, octoginta *inde* primae classis centuria; *ibi* si varcaret . . ut secundae classis vocarentur, Livy, I, 43, 11, where the pronominal meaning is clear. Through the Merovingian period the Spanish writers use *inde* and *ibi,* like the others, v. g. Heterii and S. Beati ad Elipand., Epist. I, Migne 96, 936: Ut de illo grano multa nata sunt grana, quod est Ecclesia et nos Deo miserante *inde* sumus . . . Quod si in disciplina multo tempore in collatione laborassent, *ibi* audissent quod dicerent, *ibi* reprehendirentur . . . Old Portuguese preserved the use of *inde* and *ibi* as pronouns until the XVth century, v. g. Rey Ramiro nâo achou a sa molher, peson lhe *ende* muito, Livro de Linh. ap. Mendes Dos Remedios, Hist. d. Lit. port. (5), Lumen, 1921, p. 68; se *hi* o achasse que lho aduxese, ib. p. 69.

As for Old Spanish we are told: "Nach Gessner schwindet *ende, y,* mit dem 15. Jahrh. Zuletzt habe ich sie im Amadis beobachtet, Celestina und Lazarillo kennen sie nicht mehr" (ap. Meyer-Lübke, Das Katalanische, p. 102).

There was, therefore, apparently as much chance that they would develop in the Iberic peninsula as they did in the other two western regions, at least down to the IXth century. Differentiation in the case of *ende* (but not *y, hi*) may have started soon after the breaking up of the Koinê, for the full form *ende* may indicate that *inde* had no deep root in the language of the people, that its use was due to the international Church and University Latin which had preserved it.

On the other hand, *homo*, as an indefinite pronoun, is almost purely French. Yet there were in Latin indications of such a possible development: Et dedi eis praecepta mea et iudicia mea ostendi eis quae faciens *homo* vivet in eis (Vulgate, Ezech. XXIII; Universae urbes derelictae sunt et non habitat in eis *homo* (ib. Jerem. IV, 29, cf. Einar Lofstedt, Kommentar z. Silv. pereg. p. 263). This situation hardly changes for centuries: Ascendat itaque *homo* adversum se tribunal mentis suae si timet illud ... ut illic recipiat unusquisque quae per corpus gessit sive bonum sive malum (S. Elig. homil., Migne 87, 626); quod ad stabilimentum regni pertinet et ad robur regiminis, debet *homo* differre, an non? Cum omnes respondissent ... (Agobardi epist., Migne 104, 298, IXth cent.). Here the sense is quite that of the Oaths.

These results, achieved during the period of linguistic unity, belong to the stock which the three main branches of the Romance languages have in common. And in fact, in spite of the lateness of documents in Italy, we find that use of *homo* still alive in the XIIIth century: Bone Archiepiscope, quid debet facere *homo* de inimico suo (Andre, Presbyt. Chronic., IXth cent. ap. Muratori, Antiq. Ital., T. 1, 66 D); Pensavi per augurio la vita perlongare anno, dine et oro *omo* non po sperare vedemo per lo peccato la vita sterminare la morte apropinquare quand' *om* pença gaudere (Poesie di Jacopone de Todi No. 149 in Monaci Crestom). L'amore fere in tal loco che l'*omo* non spera (Giac. d. Lentino, Monaci VIII) meglio val dire cio c'*omo* a'n talento ca vivere pensando istando muto (Rinaldo d'Aquino, Monaci V); E di bataglia ov'*om* si lanza a spade e lanze (ib. 1, 50).

This use is all the nearer to that of French, since *on*, in the latter language, in that period, still implies a feeling of the etymological value of the word. It is felt as the nominative form of *homme*. It may be qualified: qu'eles ne pensent, ne ne croient qu'*on* terriens ... poist feire ce qu'il feisoit (Lancelot 6040, Foerster). The same is true of Italian. Besides, the full value of *on* as an indefinite pronoun could not be reached until the case distinction had been effaced ..

And as late as the XVIth century, in the Cortigiano, Milan, 1803, p. 70 we still find it: ma perche grande argumento che l'*uom* sappia una cosa e il saperla insegnare, etc.

Pronominal or semi-pronominal *om* has been discarded by modern Italian, although some dialects may still know it. For instance Bertoni in La prosa della Vita Nuova di Dante p. 15 note 2 informs us that in the dialect of Chieti, Citta S. Angelo, etc. this use of *om* is still alive "la n'giuria che m'ha l'*omo* fatta"[1].

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[1] It is clear that this use of *homo* was general, in Italy, not restricted to one province. Meyer-Lübke, Gram. II, 135, claims that

It is not unknown to the Iberic peninsula. In Portuguese: Vespera de pinticoste foy grande gente assunada em Camaalot asaque podere *homem* hi veer muy gram gente, mujtos cavaleyros (Hist. d. Cavale. d. Mesa red. XIVth cent. in Remedios, p. 70).

The same is true of Old Spanish. According to F. Hanssen, op. cit. 47, 5, *ome*, *omne*, *ombre*, are used like *on* in French: deve *omne* aver mui grand seso en ell lidiar (Cr. G. 398 a, 30), aun después nos finca una gesta cabdal, de que farié el *omne* un libro general (Berceo, S. Dom. 487). Even to-day *hombre* is sometimes used in the sense of *somebody* : *tengo* la suerte mas negra que *hombre* tiene en este mundo (Trueba, obras T. VI, p. 188). R. Lanchetas, Gram. y Vocab. de Berceo, Madrid, 1900, does not mention this use!

Here again this particular feature did not become characteristic of French until a quite recent date.

Il y a has also become very characteristic of French; but the very survival of Spanish *hay* = *a* + *y* (Meyer-Lübke, Gram. II, 242) points to its past importance in Old Spanish when *y* (*hi*) was still current. It is well known that it is a Vulgar Latin expression, that it belonged to the Koinê and was not localized then. Einar Löfstedt in his Kommentar z. Per. Sylv., Uppsala, 1911, p. 43; Anglade, De latin. lib. q. inscr. Pereg., Paris, 1905, p. 88; P. Geyer, Krit. und sprachl. Erläut. z. Ant. Plac. Itin., Augsburg, 1892, p. 63; K. Meister, De itin. Aeth. Rhein. Mus. 64, 1909, pp. 377, have given a number of examples of this neutral use of *habere* which like the following, of Flav. Vopis. Tacitus 8, 1: *habet* in bibliotheca Ulpia librum elephantinum, indicate a general trend or development of late Latin. It is still current enough in Italy: *ha* quindici giorni, quivi non *avea* pianto, *v'ha* degli uomini, molti cittadini *v'avea* che (cf. F. Demattio, Sintassi della lingua italiana, Innsbruck (3), 1898, p. 87). Even Sardinian (Log.) knows it: Fagher su qui ti faghent non *bi hat* peccadu (Vocab. It. Sard. G. Spano, T. 2, p. 29 of the Proverbs).

Although the use of the Latin pluperfect characterizes Spanish to-day, the oldest French monuments still know it, as well as old Italian, as Giulio Bertoni, La prosa della vita nuova, p. 18 and E. Gamillscheg, Studien z. Vorgesch. einer roman. Tempuslehre, Sitzungsb. d. k. Akad. d. Wissen Wien, Phil. Hist. Kl. 172, 1913, p. 229, among others, have, in my opinion, conclusively proven.

Sometimes, however, the former similar use in these languages has continued during and after the transformation which they have undergone, like the well-known rule that the atonic pronoun object could not precede the verb at the beginning of the

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the domain of *homo cantat* is Lombardy; yet Chieti is in the Abruzzi. In old Italian, the use was not regional at all, but universal.

sentence, (Meyer-Lübke, Gram. 88, III, 716 ff; Bertoni, op. cit. p. 24; F. Hanssen, op. cit. 47, 16) which has resulted in practically the same modern usage.

These few morphological features have been singled out merely as illustrations. In regard to vocabulary the results would be similar. Peculiarities relating to important objects are in general quite recent. For instance, the word *villa* had been developing, towards the end of the empire, the new meaning of an agglomeration of houses, which might even amount in some cases to an oppidum, or perhaps even a city. St. Jerome, Rutilius Numatianus, Isidorus Hispanensis use it in this loose connotation: Nunc *villae* ingentes, oppida parva prius, Rut. Num. It. I, 223; *Villa* sane longe remota debet esse a monasterio, Isid. Hisp. Reg. Monach. 1, 2, Migne 83, 869; Jerome according to C. Paucker, De lat. b. Hier., Berlin 1880, p. 56, uses it five or six times in the sense of village, small town, and at least twice in the sense of *urbs, polis.* — This meaning became fixed in France, and in Spain to a certain extent, while it seems to have disappeared from Italy.

Spanish has the characteristic use of *quinientos* (*quingenti*, but Fredegarius in the VIIth century employs it also: *Quinientes* vaccas reddebant (IV, 73). On the other hand, it is natural enough that owing to the respective products of the countries, the word *jumenta* should finally designate a she-ass in Spain and a mare in Italy and France: cum vero nominas asinum vel quodlibet *jumentum,* says the Spanish writer St. Beatus, Migne 96, 959, an. 790, while Lullus, bishop of Mainz writes: *Jumenta* vero septem optima aetate quatuor annorum, . . . et multos alios equos inde nutritos, ib. 827.

Sentire is not yet differentiated regionally: Gregorius Lingonensis praesul de nocte de stratu suo, nullo *sentiente* consurgens, ad orationem, Deo tantum teste pergebat .... revertens ad lectulum ita se caute super stratum deponebat ut prorsus nemo *sentiret,* Greg. Tur. Vita Patrum 7. Yet French has to-day abandoned that meaning which Italian and Spanish have preserved.

Tenere as a synonym of *habere* and like this latter a possible auxiliary to form the future, is not confined, by any means, to the Iberic peninsula: et quod nos ... indulsisse nec regalis sublimitas nec cujuslibet Judicibus cupiditas refragare *tenet* (= *shall* not *break*) in Muratori Antiq. Dis. 70, T. 14, 498, an 773.

Isid. Etym. XII, VI, 25 (Migne 82) "Mullus in vino *necatus* iis qui inde biberint taedium vini affert" shows *necare* in the sense of to drown or, at least, approaching it, not unknown in Spain.

This short list could of course be increased, but this would be the subject of a complete work in itself. The few words cited here may perhaps suffice for our purpose.

Chapter XI.

Failure of all attempts at finding proofs of early dialectalization.

A glance at the failure of all attempts to prove early dialectalization, that is, before the VIII[th] century, will not be useless. We already have shown, incidentally, the trend of thought and argument to be found in such attempts by Mohl, Geyer and others. The most determined advocate of early dialectalization, K. Sittle, Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache . . ., Erlangen, 1882, pp. 91 ff., brings out a certain number of phenomena which he considers characteristic of African Latin, either because they are exclusively to be met with, or more abundantly, or else first, in African authors: *tot* and *quot* replaced by *tanti* and *quanti*; new words formed with the suffix *-icus*; nouns formed with the negative prefix *in*; replacement of infinitive + accusative constructions by *quod* and the active mood; a special liking for abstract nouns in *-tas*; comparative followed by genitive or ablative with *ab*; such pleonastic expressions as *inter duos ambos.*

It is too evident that these features are to be met with in other parts of Romania and cannot therefore characterize African Latin. The criterion upon which Sittl bases their designation as "Africity" is too impressionistic to be really convincing. The fact that an African writer uses for instance *ipse* for *idem* first, (to our limited knowledge) or formations in *-icus* a little more frequently (?) has little to do with the case. We have here general developments, unless we admit that they started from Africa and radiated then all over the Latin world; in which case, we would say that Africa's share in the formation of the Koinê was great, but not that Africa spoke a different dialect. His other citations deal manifestly with questions of style in various writers, idiosyncrasies of individuals, not sufficiently generalized to affect the structure of the language. As E. Gaffiot says in the Mélanges Havet, p. 153, in regard to certain usages of old Latin which are more or less avoided in classical times: they are rather matters of style than of language. For instance the ellipsis of the sign of the comparative when the adjective is followed by *quam*: quia bonum scilicet fidere in dominum *quam* fidere in hominem (Ps. 118,

8, 9 apud Tert. adv. Marc. 2, 19); the use of the double comparative of superlatives *novissimiora*, Passio Perp. and Feli.; hebraicisms or hellenisms like *populi* for people so common everywhere, Greek words like *xenium*, *orphanuus*, *obrizum*, the simple mention of which refutes the whole argument.

The elusiveness of this Africitas has often become manifest. One interesting instance concerns the text of the Itala which Dom Sabatier had reconstructed (1743) mostly out of Mozarabic liturgy. It was at first thought by Wiseman to have originated in Africa, but Gams in Die Kirchengesch. von Spanien, 1862, p. 86 proved beyond dispute that the would-be Africanisms were regular Latin idioms, and that the text was mostly of Italian origin. Traube in his Einl. p. 55 is clearly opposed to such views as those of Sittle and his school.

A whole series of theses, having for their object the testing of Sittl's view and in great part emanating from E. Diehl's school, have made it appear prematurely antiquated. For instance Loth. Friese, De praep. and pron. usu in CIL VIII, Vratislav, 1913, p. 62 shows the most characteristic uses of *quid* for *quod* to have been common to all regions. The so-called regional comparative *iuvenior* CIL X, 2622, D. 1109 of Puteoli appears in Old French as *jouveignor*.

E. Diehl himself in his admirable work, De M finale Epigraphica, Leipzig, 1899 has indeed found little that he can really attribute to one region to the exclusion of the others. P. 316 he thinks that such forms as *honure, amure, dolure* do not occur in Gaul except in the South; and he connects this fact with the Provençal phonetic evolution of the long *o*. But it is evident that Northern France (Meyer-Lübke, Gram. I, 121) knows *o* = *u amur* of the Oaths and the Merovingian original texts show *o* = *u* very frequently, v. g. Tardif 45, 710, *oraturio, curte, urdine, nus*. So that for one rare case about which Diehl was quite affirmative, he evidently errs. P. 308 he finds expressions which tell their origin: in Gaul, *post consulato,* in Pompei, *ob auctione,* in Spain *pius in suis;* but this is hardly connected with linguistic evolution.

The lack of evidence of an early dialectalization is so manifest that Schuchardt says in Vok. I, p. 92: "Dieses (rustike Latein) erscheint auf Denkmälern aller Gegenden eigentlich immer als ein und dasselbe"; but convinced as he was of the existence of the existence of dialectal differences, he attributed this lack of evidence to the possible wandering habits of the stone masons and engravers who, in this supposition, had no local peculiarities of speech which they might perpetuate in their inscriptions. The real reason must have been, on the one hand, the formal character of the inscriptions, and on the other the subtle and often inexpressible nature of these peculiarities having nothing or little of dialectalization.

If the theory of dialectalization of Latin under the Empire remains thus without the shadow of a proof and is now practically abandoned, it seems on the contrary to many scholars to be an incontestable fact as regards the Merovingian period. Yet we will see that attempts at proving its existence have brought out very little evidence to that effect.

Andrea Gloria in his De Volgare illustre . . ., Venezia, 1880, starting from the premises that there must have been dialects in Italy as early as the VIIth century and much earlier, (although he was ready to make use of every indication, having at his disposal an important mass of documents, which, let us say in passing, are entirely lacking for the period of the Empire) could not find anything dialectal until the XIth century and very little then. So he says p. 36: "Reputo pero che dalla rilevata condizione del linguaggio d'un paese e d'un secolo possiamo figurarci presso a poco quella dello stesso secolo in altro paese non molte lontano tanto piu che il linguaggio parlato nè primi secoli medievali fu più uniforme per tutta Italia che non è oggidi, . . .". The last sentence reminds one of Gessner's statement in Das Leonesische, Berlin, 1867, p. 4: "Da das Spanische in früherer Zeit mit dem Portugiesischen vielfachere Berührungspunkte hatte als später", all of which points to a linguistic unity preserved relatively very late.

Andrea Gloria was no philologist; but his experience in diplomatics was not inconsiderable and I bring here his testimony simply because I consider it a naive confession of the failure of his attempts at proving the existence of dialects in Italy during the Merovingian period.

But K. Sittle appears to have had more success. If he has failed in his characterization of African Latin in so far as he wanted to deduce from it the existence of dialects under the Empire, in regard to the Merovingian period, however, although he himself does not single it out, he has been generally approved. Specialists of the science of documents, for instance A. Giry, Manuel de diplomatique, Paris, 1894, pp. 434 ff. and H. Bresslau, Handbuch der Urkundlehre^{2}, Leipzig, 1915, T. 2, p. 337, have made theirs his results. We are therefore bound to examine them and see what bearing they have on the existence of the Koinê which we claim to have existed until the end of the VIIIth century. This is all the more imperative because scholars, whose contributions are found principally in the AFLL, Geyer, Wölfflin, Thurneysen and others like D'Arbois de Jubainville, Pirson, Slijper etc. have completely supported him on this. Yet as we have given manifest and positive evidence of the existence of this Koinê at such a late period, the evidence against it would have to be exceedingly strong to offset it.

One of these phenomena would be the dropping of final *t* in the third person of the verbs, which is, so were are told, charac-

teristic of Italy, according to Gröber, AFLL 1, 21; Geyer, AFLL 2, 42, and Bresslau, op. loc. cit. Yet, the inscriptions of the Empire had shown some cases of it in various countries: CIL VI (Rome), 33907, Diehl VLI, 569; CIL II (Spain), 2679 add. p. 709, 913, D. 570; CIL III (Dalmatia), 2348, D. 571; CIL VII (Africa), 2547. And during the Merovingian period it is not unknown in Gaul, v. g. *dedissi* Form. And. p. 47; ed abeat anatema a Iuda, si quis alterum omine super me *posueri* (Leblant, Insc. Chret. I, p. 291, Diehl, op. cit. p. 262; *quiesce,* Leblant, 285; dº CIL XIII, 2454; dº Leblant, N. R. 3, *feci,* Jull. 274; Tauricius Verus . . posuit et *dedi* Br. 1933 (Brambach, CIR, Elberfeld, 1867 etc. cf. Pirson, La langue des Inscrip. lat. de la Gaule, Bruxelles, 1901, p. 101). Diehl, De *m* fin. epig., p. 318, also notices that the third person of the perfect in *-run, -rum, -ru* is quite frequent while we find genitives plural in *unt*: *obitorunt, eorunt.*

This would-be characteristic of Italian Latin becomes therefore a general phenomenon common to all the regions of Vulgar Latin. If however it has been found more frequent in Italian documents, not inscriptions, it is because, on the one hand, most Italian documents are posterior to the VIIIth century although dated much earlier (but we usually only have copies) while French original documents of the VIIth and VIIIth centuries are fairly numerous. These two types of documents cannot therefore be compared in this particular. On the other hand, through Charlemagne's reform, practically all notaries in France, who, by the way, were already clerics, received, as such, a Latin education which caused them to avoid most of those gross mistakes in spelling, and this as early as 780, while Italian notaries, most of them laymen, were not directly affected and preserved much longer their ways of writing (Bresslau II, 247).

We understand then that diplomatics may consider this feature as characteristic of Italian documents without its having any value for the problem we are studying.

Here we are confronted by a condition which is going to be repeated in regard to final *s*: there was a tendency common to all regions of Romania to discard it, down to the IXth century. Then while this tendency brought about the disappearance of final *t* in Italian and Spanish, it was preserved in France, the final *t* being not only preserved but restored in order to fulfill a morphological purpose. This difference of treatment is not however to be traced back to the Latin period; it is posterior to the breaking up of the Koinê and belongs essentially to the rebuilding age of the French language which begins evidently with the Carolingian Renaissance. We shall later treat that question at greater length.

E for *a* is met with in Gaul oftener than in Italy, we are told: (Bresslau, T. 2, p. 333 (1915) *adjecentiae, preda* (?) LHF. 265, 33,

P. Taylor, p. 20, *Tulbiecum* ib. 315, 6, *Daverius, Agnericus* (Pirson 2), *curetis* (Hetzer, Reich. Gloss. 59). Yet the cases are very few and sporadic, not directly related apparently to the general evolution of $a = e$ of Northern France, but with a peculiarity of Latin pronunciation of which the inscriptions of all regions show us a good many cases, v. g.: *sebaciaria* is *sebeciaria* CIL VI, 3066 in Rome, *cathedrebus* for *cathedrabus* in Africa, CIL VIII, 828 etc., and Cosentius (Keil V, 386) makes this pronunciation (*stetim* for *statim*) a peculiarity of the speech of the Roman populace[1]. When cases are so few they must be explained individually. For instance E. Diehl, de *m* fin. p. 182, interprets *insidies* for *insidias* in a Spanish inscription anterior to the VIIth century (Buechler, ALE II, 920; Huebner, IHC 10) as likely to have been due to the analogy of the word *signes* which is in the same sentence. Preda of the LHF while Greg. Tur. has *prata* may be due to the sonorizatione of the intervocalic *t* and the general meaning of the sentence in which the word *praeda* makes good enough sense, better even than *prata* to a mind working more mechanically than the clearer imagination of Greg. Tur.

We are also told (Bresslau, op. cit. T. 2, p. 334, 1915) that *Genuarius* is not to be met with in northern Gaul, and this, on Sittl's evidence, for French has *janvier* while Italian has *gennaio*. But in reality *Ienuarius* is not only very common in Southern Gaul: *Ienuarius* CIL XII, 2180; ib. 2102; ib. 934 etc. cf. Pirson p. 26 ff., but is found in the North: CIL XIII, 3516: *genariuk* (Amiens) and in Old Spanish, de *ianer* ad *ianero,* Menendez Pidal, Origenes p. 212 an. 1172, shows the existence in Spain of the form in *a*.

If the examples are more common in the South, it is because there are three times as many inscriptions there as in the North. And may we hope that the old Schuchardt explanation for the two Treves inscriptions which have *quiesce* for *quiescit* (as though these were the only cases) to wit: that the engraver was an Italian (Vok. 1. 148, Bresslau II, 337) will not be advanced here in attributing the Amiens *genarius* to an engraver from the Provincia (or Italy or Spain); or else why not say that the Italian notary who wrote *januarius* in an Italian document of the year 723 (Troja 3, 439) was a native of Northern Gaul. The fact is that the two pronunciations *jenuarius* and *januarius* were more or less common everywhere and that later some Romance dialects rejected one and kept the other. For instance although forms going back to *jenuarius* are frequent in the South of France, the regular Provençal word is *janvié* (Mistral Dict.).

[1] For a different interpretation see Pirson, Literaturblatt, 1927, in his criticism of P. Taylor's, The Latinity of the Liber Historiae Francorum. The change *-arius* > *-erus* is, in its first stage, Vulgar Latin. Cf. also A. Thomas in Bausteine . . . p. 648.

Other individual characteristics of Italian documents, like the extension of the form of the neutral plural of the third declension to words of the second, *lectora, campora, tectora, preceptora, portora* (Sittl, AFLL II, 520; Forsch. z. Deutsch. Gesch. 10, 270, Meyer-Lübke, Einf. (2) 164), are regionalisms of a semi-learned nature, without any real bearing on dialectalization. The same is true of the extension of the genitive plural in *-orum*: *fratrorum, abbatorum* which Sittl, 2, 563, declares to be more frequent in Italy than in France, Tardif 23, an. 681 has *fratrorum.* Sittl himself cites *abbatorum* in Northern France. But *mesorum* it seems is not to be me with in France, Sittl, AFLL p. 563. Since here again we have to deal with semi-learned tendencies of scribes, can such an exception be of great significance? Evidently their value in diplomatics is much greater than in linguistics. They may serve to characterize a document, not a speech. Few of these peculiar forms have had more than a very feeble sort of life. V. g. an African inscription CIL VIII, Preske de tit. Afr. lat. serm. quaest. morph., Trebnitz 1913, p. 52, has *marterorum*, but Provençal has *Martror* or *Marteror* as the name for All Saints Day, (Raynouard, Lex. rom. IV, p. 162, cf. Levy, Suppl. V, p. 133).

Among the features characterizing Gallic Latin, according to Geyer, AIL II, 44, Bresslau, II, 337, is the occasional use of *i* for *a* in the endings of the subjunctive *inferit incurrit* etc.; it is supposed not to be found in Italy. Yet we find in Troja, Cod. Long. III, 519, an. 739, "et in tua Urse abbatisse trado esset potestatem, tuoque dominio *vindicis* ac *defendis*" = *vindices* ac *defendas.* But even if this feature had been absent from Italian documents, it could indeed have perfectly characterized Franco-Gallic documents without however having the least relation with linguistics. Its exceptional occurrence, and the fact that it could not be regarded even as foreshadowing the future development of the subjunctive in French (for the latter goes back to the regular classical forms) made it philologically uninteresting.

We may therefore turn our attention at once to the features ascribed to Italian documents in contradistinction with French which bear directly on a possible differentiated and dialectal condition of the respective speech of these countries before the Carolingian period. The most important phenomenon on which Sittl's theory rests concerns the declension and first of all the preservation of the *s* as the characteristic sign of the nominative of the second declension and in general the distinction between a direct and an oblique case[1]. This *s*, for the whole question rests on it, after having

[1] H. Bresslau op. cit. T. 2, p. 335; Sittl AIL 2, 560 ff.; L. Havet L'*s* caduc in Etudes . . . G. Paris, Paris 1891, pp. 303 ff; Carola Proskauer, Das Auslaut-*s* auf den latein. Inschriften, Strafsburg 1910; Mohl Intr. p. 223; cf. Chapter XVII of H. Paul, Prinz. d. Sprachgesch.

almost become silent during the period of archaic Latin, had been reintroduced at the beginning of the literary period. In the Romance languages its apparent fate varied according to the regions. Old French preserved it tenaciously and made it the basis of its two case system. Spanish kept it only as mark of the plural. Italian and Rumanian discarded it altogether. Of course this applies only to the literary languages.

When did this difference arise?

Leaving out of consideration Spanish and Rumanian for which documents are practically unavailable, Spanish inscriptions as studied by Carnoy and others show absolutely nothing particular in this respect; there remain Italy and France to be studied in regard to this phenomenon. Sittl in AIL 2, Zur Beurteilung des sogenannten Mittellatein, p. 565 ff., claimed to have noticed an important difference between the documents of Italy and those of France. In the former, so he said, the casual *s* and final *s* in general are constantly being dropped, in the latter, they persist remarkably well. In other words already in the Italian documents of the Merovingian period, the stage of the one-case system has already been reached while the two-case system of Old French characterizes those of France. If this is so then we have a dialectal difference of the highest importance which must deeply affect not only the phonetics of the language but its syntax and word order as well.

Unfortunately for this view, however, there is no essential difference between both regions. Caroline Proscauer, op. cit. pp. 51, 83, has shown that in the inscriptions of Italy, all through the VIIth century, the *s* is regularly written, like for instance the Campanian inscription dated 693 by de Rossi . . spo sci . . . cis *Decorosus* . . *us minus* LXXX . . *tus annos* XXXI etc. She has shown in general that there were no local differences in this respect. The peculiar treatment of the final *s* in the various Romance languages is therefore, in her own words, the work of a later period, that of their individual development, according to her, after the VIIth century. Backed by the evidence of her rich material, she pronounces definitely against Sittl's theory which she does not mention however, and against those who held similar theories like Corssen, Hammer, Havet, Leo. One of the works which Sittl longed to have done and which was to prove his case has precisely turned against his doctrine. In fact the numerous works or theses written directly or indirectly as a consequence of his appeal, have brought into light the incredibly small dialectalization of Latin in that immense Roman Empire, as late as the scholars have seen fit to extend their researches.

Yet it is true that if this final *s* is generally preserved in Italian documents through the greater part of the VIIIth century, it is liable to be dropped and an ending which we will call the oblique

case[1] takes its place; but we must add that this is true also of the documents of France for the same period. In other words the two-case declension while it flourished in France as late as the XIVth century was already undermined in the latter part of the VIIth, in Gaul as well as in Italy.

As seems in a way perfectly natural this simplification appears to begin with proper names: in Tardif No. 21 an. 677 the names of certain bishops, although in the nominative, are given in the oblique form: dum solemniter episcopi non adfuerunt unde *Genesio, Chadune, Blidrammo, Landoberctho* et *Tenisco* qui matropoli esse videntur, vel reliqui episcopi ipsus judicantes, cf. ib. 55, an. 755, which is a construction exactly similar to the Italian one, one hundred years younger: scripsi ego *Merovingo ... notario* an. 774, H. P. M. 13, 103 ubi venerunt *Andreas advocato* an. 828, Ficker, Italien. Forschung. 4, 15, which Bresslau, op. cit. T. 2, p. 335, cites as hardly possible in the mouth of a Frank. Yet they are not rare there by any means: Tardif 45, an. 710 *ipse viro Grimoaldo,* ib. 67, an. 769 *Domino magnifico fratri Aegefredo* et cojouis mea Archesidane, vintores; and in the same document the nominative form for the oblique case: ipsa pecia de masso in villa *Pociollus* which the same scholar would have us consider as characteristic of Italian documents. I leave aside such cases as the Lib. Hist. Franc. 306, 5, interfeceruntque maxima parte de hoste illo innumerabilis multitudo maximus valde exercitus, or 283, 10 Nullum eis tegumen remansit nisi *clypeos* (P. Taylor p. 101) which can be explained away.

Yet as a rule names of places like proper names have everywhere, or tend to have but one form the oblique: Tardif 59, an. 766 in loco quae dicitur *Sarodo,* et in loco quae vocatur *Habriaciago.* The VIIIth century marks a great advance in that direction as P. Taylor pointed out in comparing p. 99 passages of the Lit. Hist. Franc. v. g. proiecitque eum in puteum in loco qui dicitur *Colomna vico* or Fred. contin. 171, 19 in loco qui dicitur *Textrico* with their source, Greg. Tur., who always uses the nominative.

As in the case of all phenomena, sporadic, isolated appearances seem to indicate the trend of things a long time in advance. As early as the VIth century we have in Gaul *Teodoualdo labede non revolvatur* = *Teodoualdi lapis* (Leblant Nouv. Recueil 264, p. 280), Latiae pollens modulamine linguae ... nunc *praecipuu* (= *praecipuus* Diehl, op. cit. p. 232) erat tantae indolis from Buecheler ALE II, 1753 ap. Montfaucon Hist. Lugd. 108, 556, No. 3.

Some of these facts have not been unknown to the scholars, but being aware that Old French preserved the two-case declension, while the facts are somewhat different (but to what extent we do

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[1] Cf. Pauline Taylor, The Latinity of the Liber Hist. Franc. New York, 1924, p. 64 ff.

not know) for Italy and Spain, they could not make them fit in with their knowledge of the outcome; so these facts had to be explained away. For instance H. Bresslau, op. cit. T. 2, p. 335 will say that *-o* is never met with in the nominative in France. But in a note he adds that Sittl, AIL 2, 557 explains (away) the few cases that are found, like Leblant 41 *depositu* est or Form Rignon p. 232, 10 filius noster *servo nostro* or in the third declension Form Andec. p. 15, 29 *omne* solemnitas, Form Sen. 221, 25 *puellare* sancta etc. Yet these few cases are more numerous and less sporadic than these scholars say, and the sum and substance of it is that when such a phenomenon occurs in Gaul it is of no consequence, but when it occurs in Italy it means that the oblique form in the singular has completely superseded the nominative while it is the reverse in the plural. Knowing the outcome there is a natural tendency to see in the premises the subsequent development.

The real situation seems to be that this movement towards a simplification of the two-case system was, up to 770, practically as advanced in Gaul as in Italy and evidently in Spain.

It is also the conclusion at which J. Pirson arrives in his fine study of the Latin inscriptions of Gaul, p. 324:

"Nous avons également étudié les inscriptions au point de vue des différences locales mais nous sommes forcés d'avouer, comme d'ailleurs l'ont fait avant nous Huebner et Kuebler à propos des inscriptions d'Espagne et d'Afrique que les résultats obtenus en ce point sont peu importants" . . . and concerning the fall of final *t* and *s* in Gaul "ces consonnes comme nous l'avons vu disparaissent dans le latin de la Gaule ainsi que dans celui des autres provinces alorsque le roman de cette contrée, seule, les a maintenues. Il y a contradiction manifeste" which he attempts to explain by the vague and handy Celtic influence.

It is evident that here we are facing a difficulty that philologists have always tried to avoid by overlooking or explaining away the facts. In other words the simplification from the Latin declension system through the two-case one, the Romance condition, goes on in Romania very clearly from the VIth century, announced by sporadic cases all through the Latin period. The evolution is a very gradual one and during the Merovingian period is characterized by the coexistence of the Latin and the two-case system and sporadic appearance of the Romance one-case morphology up to the IXth century.

It seems then that this simplification of the two-case declension into the modern one-case form is arrested in France by a movement in the opposite direction, not only stopped but a peculiarly French system, indeed with elements taken mostly from Latin, but quite original and making progress until its own power is established. It is not therefore a question of survival only but of new

creation (Meyer-Lübke, Gram. II, 20). And yet through and alongside of this extension of the two-case system appear the sporadic cases which are paving the way for a reduction. This simplification which we can follow through the Merovingian period, starts on again in the Old French period (Alexis 362 *home* nominative etc.); the strong declension with alternation of the accented syllable tends to become weak and have one form only with the casual *s* simply added! This casual *s* is thus added to a great many new words to which it did not belong etymologically. Both movements, the extension and the reduction are contemporaneous. The Merovingian period is full of similar contradictory movements in which for instance the deponent form is assumed by active verbs while the passive form is gradually reduced, the dative and ablative ending *-ibus* added to the second declension while the ending *-is* is generally substituted everywhere. The tendency has been in the case of the Merovingian period to explain away the movement in extension and admit only the reduction, but not so in Old French. As a matter of fact there is no good reason for treating both periods differently and thus misunderstanding the nature of linguistic transformation.

It is clear therefore that the most important features of the individual development of the Romance languages do not assume this exclusive character until after the eighth century; in other words dialectalization does not set in before that time.

The theorists of an early dialectalization of Latin have signally failed to show any difference between the various regions of Western Romania regarding 1st, syncopation, 2nd, the declension system, before the IXth century. Whatever other local characteristic have been ascertained are only secondary or in such an incipient stage and mixed condition that they hardly rise above the value of unimportant regionalisms. These are more than offset by the production in common of very far reaching and complicated, revolutionizing phenomena which certify to the existence of the Koinê as late as the Carolingian period.

Not only have they failed, but we venture to affirm, on the strength of the proofs already adduced that any such attempts are bound, in the nature of things, to fail. Any system built on such an assumption is doomed. For instance, Schädel (RDR I, 1909, p. 53—83) had attributed the Catalonian speech of the people of Roussillon to the fact that the Spanish refugies came north of the Pyrenees to settle in the lands made more or less deserted by inhabitants by the repulse of the Moors under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious and, introduced Catalonian, as though Catalonian had already been in existence. But his pupil K. Salow (Sprachgeograph. Untersuchungen, Hamburg, 1912, p. 193) shows that the Spaniards that came north in that period did not come from Cata-

lonia proper but from parts of Spain under Arabian dominion. He adds however, probably out of deference: "They might have spoken Catalonian though". This is unlikely, for considering that the Spaniards came from different parts of Spain to settle in districts which were more or less deserted (loci eremi) but not absolutely vacant, since these Spaniards had trouble with the native peasants (op. cit. Dipl. 812, p. 192 note 1), they could hardly have imposed a dialect which, even supposing that it existed then, they could not have all spoken. Besides they settled north of the linguistic frontier between langue d'oc and Catalonian as much probably as they did south of this line, as E. Cauvet (Etude p. 19) points out.

What is pertinent to our problem is the fact that the ablest scholars go astray every time their explanations start from the hypothesis of an early dialectalization.

Chapter XII.

Professor Menéndez Pidal's theory.

Connected with the problem of early dialectalization is the question of relating various phenomena of the Romance languages to either pre-Romance speech habits of the Latinized races or to the Italic dialects, which, after having tempted the scholars in the latter part of the XIXth century with Mohl in his Chronologie du Latin vulgaire as the principal champion of these studies, had suffered a certain setback in the more recent years. In the words of Professor Menéndez Pidal there is to-day "la tendencia que considera vano el empeño de enlazar con el latín la vida de los dialectos o bables modernos".

Shall we say that Mohl's failure to reach his goal, or his manner of making up for the slenderness of the evidence by the strength of his conviction, seemed to check research in that direction. It is interesting to note that Professor Menéndez Pidal has renewed the interest in this question in his latest remarkable book: Orígenes del Español, Madrid 1926. It seems therefore appropriate to examinte this problem again, in the light of the evidence brought to the fore by the great Spanish scholar.

In the case of initial $f = h$ (Orig. p. 227) in Spanish, even admitting for a moment that it was an Iberian feature, it would be indifferent to suppose that in some remote corner of the Pyrenees along the linguistic frontier, Latin was pronounced with an aspiration instead of *f*. We must admit that in the Roman as well as in modern times, along the linguistic frontiers, speech peculiarities existed, due to the geographical condition. They remained, as they do to-day, quite localized, because they are felt as foreign, not dialectal, accent and as such they are quickly eliminated whenever a chance for comparison is given and the mispronunciation thus noticed, which is constantly happening. For instance, in France, the peculiar German pronunciation of explosives which is heard along the German linguistic frontier does not make any headway, but is constantly being corrected, and cannot be said to characterize Lorrain dialect.

Of course, the extension, after the XIIth century of such a localized feature (initial $f = h$) would be of great interest. But

precisely the fact that a pronunciation which was to achieve such a victory, could not begin its forward movement until long after the Visigothic period would be a strong proof of how refractory Vulgar Latin was to dialectalization. We must remark however that the Spanish and Gascon phenomenon is of a different nature from the supposed Iberianism (inability to hear and pronounce the *f*): it concerns only initial *f* not the sound of *f* in general. It could, at the most, have been suggested to the Spaniards by the Iberian language and struck their linguistic fancy, for an initial sound. As such it would belong clearly to the linguistic phenomena which sprang up with the advent of regional or national entities.

On the other hand, p. 257, Prof. Menéndez Pidal, on the strength of one use of *v* for *f* in the acts of the Council of Cordoba 834, *acebalos,* three in Sanson of Cordoba 865, *provectibus, reveratur, referencia, ficiatus,* two in Arvaro Cordobés 830—860, *deforamus, adprofemus* and seven similar cases of confusion between *v* and *f* in the Glosario (X—XIth cent.), says: "Este contraste entre la gran cantitad de casos de sonorización y ultracorección relative *a* la *f* u la escasez de ejemplos análogos referentes a otras consonantes, se puede a caso explicar, porque, los ejemplos de confusion entre *f* and *v* proceden de alguna porción de vulgo ibérico que desconociendo la *f* la sustituía por otra labial, como sucede a los vascos hoy día y a los araucanos de Chiloe . . *viesta, envermo, convesar* . ."

Traube (Einl. i. d. lat. Phil. d. Mitt., München, 1911, T. 2, p. 59) had already mentioned the presence of $v = f$ and $f = v$ in Albanus de Cordova especially (Poet. Aev. Car. III, 790—795) which he affirmed, against Haupt's opinion (Opusc. II, 321, III, 516), to be more characteristic of Spanish documents of that period than of the other regions. However it had always been a possible development, although nowhere did it reach the importance and extension of a phonetic law. Schuchardt has gathered quite a few examples v. g. *sibilus* non *sifilus,* App. Prob. 199, 3 K.; *defitore,* For. Dig. III, V, 9; *feneficis,* ib. IV, 16; *Vavius,* Rossi, Rom. sott. I, Taf. XVII, 4 ib. *Favius; Fictorinus,* Frohner, ins. ter. coct. vas. 2127, Hanau; *referencia,* Mar. pap. dipl. LXV, 13, frank. 99, 657 n. Chr.; *subvervefactis,* Ver. Plin. 205, 19. On the other hand Carnoy, l. Langue d. Ins. lat. d. l'Esp., p. 123, quotes very few of this kind and none more remarkable than *pontivicatus* an. 665.

In this case we would have an Iberian linguistic peculiarity persisting as late as the ninth century, although unnoticed before, not in some remote frontier village, but around Cordoba, the birthplace of Seneca and other great Latin writers: something strictly equivalent to the would be Gallic phenomenon of *u* to *y*. Very naturally, Menéndez Pidal, somewhere in his book, expresses his belief in the Celticism of the French pronunciation of *u*.

Let us first call attention to the fact that this interpretation seems to militate against the author's own theory, apparently based on facts, that the change of *f* to *h* started from Cantabria and extended progressively over Spain, which it would not have had to do if the change had been effected a thousand years before.

The cases are also in reality very few and thus out of proportion with the importance of the theory which is built on them. For, as we said above, it would mean that in genuine Latin territory, around Corduba, unknown or unnoticed by grammarians and other writers who, however, give us enough appreciations of, and are delighted enough to comment on, provincial singularities, the population did not pronounce the *f*, that all through these centuries they preserved this inability to pronounce the *f*. In view of the frequent intercourse between the people of this region and that of the rest of the Empire, especially Italy and Africa, it seems almost impossible that the fact should have remained unnoticed, and still more that this inability should have lasted over even one generation. Do the French Canadians or people of Louisiana when they adopt English as their own language carry into it their natural inability in pronouncing the *th*, from one generation to another? Such difficulties do not exist in the vocal organs or in the sense of hearing, but in the linguistic habits that the adoption of a new language, which cannot be carried out except by direct and incessant contact with the speakers of that language, does not fail to eradicate completely in the new generation. The history of the spread of our modern languages would supply enough proofs of this fact if it were questioned. The vocal organs are evidently the same for all men, and if one generation trained in the pronunciation of a set of sounds, becomes more or less incapable of other sounds because it does not hear them well, the next generation has no difficulty in learning these sounds.

New sounds are quickly learned. Even the German invaders introduced some aspirates and gutturals into the Latin of the Merovingian period. The history of most languages shows that they have possessed at various times sounds which, at others, would have appeared almost impossible. The very premises of the theory that we oppose may even be groundless. It is inferred from the rarity of *f* in the Basque language that the Iberians never had it: but this reasoning is as we have just seen, quite, objectionable. One would almost be justified in formulating the opposite principle that it is enough for a language to be presently without a certain sound to lead one to think that it had it in an earlier part of its history if that development was sufficiently free.

H. Gavel, Elém. d. Phon. basq., p. 305 shows much evidence to that effect. For instance, modern Basque does not know the *v* sound; yet in some cases, H. Gavel sees indication that the sound

may have been a familiar one in the early period. The very name of the country *Navarre*, in which the *v* never had the *b* value, *Vizcaya*, very likely modern Basque *bizkai*, hilly country, also shows an original *v*, and so does Vasco, the Latin name of the people. Proper names like *Nafarra*, *Nafar* from *Navarre* or *Tafernaberry* from *taferna*, common names like *tafaila* from Latin *tobalea* through Gascon or Bearnese from *tovala*, *tavala*, tell the same story of the former existence of a sound presently unknown to the language.

The pronunciation of the labials is one that has evolved and varied most considerably during the first nine or ten centuries of the Christian era, one also which seems to have been best fixed, in the literary languages, at least, since that time until to-day. Of this fact we have not only the testimony of inscriptions but that also of the grammarians. This has often been commented upon by scholars who have written on Latin pronunciation. One already finds *baccam* (= *vaccam*) and *berbecem* in the song of the Arvales Brothers. This fixity of the labial in modern times is but approximative: the French vulgarly pronounce *cheval*, *choual* (Engl. *shwal*) and in Gascon the shifting of *v*, *b*, and *u* seems to be still going on: *trouba*, *trouva*, *febrié*, *feuré*, *gavello*, *gauero*. Although the inscriptions seem to indicate Italy and Africa as the countries where this fluctuating condition was more marked, as they were the regions where Roman life was most active and stimulated, therefore where linguistic innovations were most likely to spring and extend all over Romania, we may be assured that the situation in Spain and Gaul was almost identical. Out of this general state of fluctuation common to all sprang the dialectal differences which characterize the Spanish, Italian and French dialects of to-day. Whatever success in classifying the various results philologists may have, and Meyer-Lübke's chapter in Gram. d. Rom Spr. I, 416, is a masterpiece of its kind, we get the general impression that such an intricate situation of the evolution of *b*, *v*, *w*, represents in terms of space or geography just as intricate a situation in point of pronunciation for the whole of Romania during the first centuries of the Christian era. For instance at the very moment when Latin *v* was becoming Romance *v*, the Ars Consent. warns the speaker to say *solvit* in two syllables, not *soluit* in three. And the shifting condition of labials seems to have reached its highest point precisely at the time when the fixity which has apparently characterized them since, was to begin, when analogy was to limit each of the variations to this or that particular set of conditions and was to check further developments. Alcuin († 804) giving the rules of Orthography (De orth. Migne 101, 905 ff.) insists on the necessity of avoiding confusion, not only between *b* and *v*, but also between *v* and *f*. Do not confuse, he says

baccas and *vaccas, valva* and *balva, vellus* and *bellus, vel* si conjunctio per *v*, si humoren per *f*, si idolum per *b*". Do not confuse *vas* and *fas*. "Flavus prior syllaba ab *f* sequens ab *u* incipiat".

The mistaking of one sound for the other must have been very easy, so that the use of the symbols may almost have been a matter of spelling, for he says (909): "Ad hujus soni, *f*, similitudinem, *v* consonantem loco ejus nostri posuerunt ut votum virgo pro fotum firgo". It leads him even to wrong statements as when he says that "berbena utraque syllaba a *b* incipiat" and "berna si domi genitum verna .. si tempus".

The distinction he makes between *beneficus* and *veneficus*, *bis* and *vis*, *bile* and *vile*, *bibo* and *vivo*, his insistence on the use of the right labial for *bivium, caverna, taberna, liber* etc. show very clearly the continued condition of the shifting pronunciation of labials, perhaps even greater than before. Is it not likely that the confusions of *f* and *v* mentioned by Prof. Menéndez Pidal belong to this general condition of the labials? Is it not more natural to connect this ninth century feature with a well ascertained and identical condition of the labial in the ninth century than to suppose a linguistic localism for which there is absolutely no evidence?

And it cannot be argued that Alcuin's observations refer to Latin pronunciation in France only! In the beginning of the ninth century, the pronunciation of the various regions had not yet evolved separately so much. Although Spaniards came to French councils and Frankish bishops went to Rome for heated discussions of various points of dogma and conduct, never at any moment was there any difficulty experienced or noticed in regard to the language or pronunciation. Yet we are at a period when attention is particularly directed to linguistic matters.

As for the fact that this same phenomenon occurred in Anglo-Saxon (Pogatscher, Z. Lautl. d. g., l. und r. Lehnw. i. Altengl., Strafsburg, 1888, 315), which we shall comment upon further down, and that consequently Alcuin, by the word *nostri*, refers to his people, this deduction does not seem to be well founded. For Alcuin says that *votum, virgo*, are written instead of *fotum, firgo*, not vice versa, because the sound *v* is nearer (ca. 800) to *f* than to *w*. This refers evidently to the use of one sign for both sounds *u* and *v* (almost *f*). As a matter of fact Anglo-Saxon in the oldest text v. g. the Epinal glossary, used *b* for such sounds (Mayhew, OS Phil., Oxford, 1891, p. 165; cf. Sievers, Angelsächs. Gram., 1886[2], 195; Sweet, Hist. o. Eng. Lang., 1888, 555). Alcuin, very likely wrote his book for his school at Tours. At least, he used it there. He would have had no special reason to mention an Anglo-Saxon feature in a Latin grammar, illustrating it with Latin words. Beda († 735), de Orth, Migne 90, 123, 167, does not mention this matter.

The fact is that in the evolution of *w* to *b* or *v*, or *b* to *v*, the *v* sound is often accompanied by a breath or expiration (rather than aspiration) which when strong enough changes the *v* into *f*. Emperor Julian had already noticed something similar when he says in his second panegyric of Constantine 16: "*v* is a character which is peculiar to the Veneti, they name it *oo* and they often use it instead of *bêta* by a sort of aspiration". Just a little more of that expiratory energy or tension of the organs of speech carries the *v* into an *f* sound. Times of important linguistic transformations like the early medieval period in Romania, may be favorable to such exaggerated shiftings which go too far in one direction, leave but few traces in the language, while their presence in the texts is often very puzzling. Of course sometimes, they may be extended by analogy and give rise to phonetic laws; such a case does not concern us here. The sporadic hardening of the *v* into *f* was not in general successful. An analogous situation is presented to us by the Germanic languages somewhat later in the Middle Ages, as they were undergoing a more or less similar evolution of the labials. For instance in the Old English glossary of the XIth century, strongly marked by Kentish peculiarities, initial *w* often become *f* (Mone OE. I Angl. 8, 499 ap. Paul's Grundrifs I, p. 857, 1891) *finter, fiftel* for *winter, wifel* etc. and as a countercurrent of this we have in the same English dialects *v* for *f*, *vat* for *fat* etc.

Pogatscher (Zur Lautlehre d. griech., lat. und röm. Lehnw. im Altengl., Strafsburg, 1888, p. 171, 311 ff.) has shown that the Latin words borrowed at the period in question, after the VIth century, when that shifting condition was at its height often have initial *v* rendered by *f*, *vannus* = *fann, Virgilius, Firgilius* (cf. Mayhew, Synops, Oxford, 1891, p. 117 ff.). Latin words of that period are sometimes spelled with an *f* for *v*: *fespa, difortium* etc. It is very clear that this phenomenon is of the same nature as that mentioned by Prof. Menéndez Pidal and in which he saw an Iberianism.

This sporadic hardening of *v* into *f* may never have resulted in the complete assimilation of *v* to *f*. The sound only approximated it and, if I may thus express myself, receded to what might be called the normal, except in a few cases, like, for instance, this very word *vannus* = *fan*, and in the Romance dialects similarly; for I think that in general the abnormal *v* = *f* is not to be explained otherwise: *vices* = *fois* F; *fiate* O. I. REW 9304; *vaginella* = *fainella* Abruz. REW 9123; *verticulus* = *furtikkyu* REW 9255; *vestigare* = *fustige* Piemont. REW 9279a; *viraska* = *frasca* It. Span. REW 9360; *vissio* = *fiso* Picard REW 9581; *vivenda* = *fianda* Campid. REW 9410; *vlisca* = *fleche* French REW 9425; *vorago* = *frana* It. REW 9454; *vascula* = *flasca*

flask (?) Engl. It seems therefore that G. Paris' etymology of *vapidus* = *fade* might very well be admitted.

The Romance *v* of the time must have come naturally closer to *f* than the modern one. In all regions, France, Italy, Spain, the *v* (*b*), in dialects where it becomes final, changes to *f*, v. g. *nuef*, *nuof* etc. No matter how quickly a Frenchman to-day says: *je lave*, *je lève* where *v* is final, he never says *je laf*, *je lèf*.

But what is more, if one is not prejudiced by the outcome, one will not discover, in the inscriptions of the more or less Latinized Iberians that they had such a repugnance for *f*. Inscriptions to the god Fagus are quite numerous (A. Luchaire, Idiom. Pyrén., p. 52, No. 187, 188, 189, 190). Even if this god Fagus is but the divinized beech, the Latin word seems to have been readily adopted. Had there been any danger of mispronunciation of the God's name, would they not have adhered to the native appellation? In the same way, the worshippers of Iberian Gods, take Latin names with *F* without any difficulty: Ilixoni deo *Fabia Festa*; Deo Lixoni *Flavia* Rufi *f* ... Luchaire, op. cit. p. 58, No. 196, 197. And why the passage of Pliny (H. N. 35, 14) "parietas quas appellant in Hispania formaceos" should have no bearing on the matter, I fail to see.

Assuredly, the *h*, a strongly aspirate one, must have been a prominent feature of Iberian as far as we can see: v. g. Fano Herauscorritsche sacrum (ap. Luchaire, p. 58, 193). It is also a marked feature of the modern French Basques. But although the *f* and the *h* have a certain natural relation in the sense that *f* has or may have a strongly marked breath feature, they do not exclude each other. If as Gavel says (Elém. de Phon. Basq., Paris, 1920, p. 506) in the oldest words borrowed from Latin by Basque, *f* has become *h*, it has not done so with words borrowed also during the Latin period, but more recently, *f* remaining or being changed to *ph*. The change is thus shown to be due to transformation of *f*, and we shall comment on this further down, not to inability to pronounce this sound. In other words, *f* is not and has never been an unknown sound in Basque and presumably in Iberian. Prince Bonaparte, one of the pioneers of Basque studies, and so well versed in the various dialects of that idiom, recognizes the *f* as one of the Basque original labials. Even if we admit Vinson's criticism (ap. Luchaire, op. cit. p. 113): "Les exemples que cite le prince B. sont des mots d'emprunt, même alfer, paresseux, qui paraît venir de l'arabe frah, oisiveté, temps libre, désœuvrement avec l'article al. Je ne nie pas, du reste que *f* ne puisse se rencontrer dans des mots purement euskariens, mais je crois qu'il n'y représente que l'altération phonétique d'une consonne, vraisemblablement l'explosive labiale dure." At any rate the very fact that the Basques could have adopted an Arabic word with *f*, is another

proof of the presence of that sound in their language. Before Greek evolved *f* out of *ph*, the Greeks experienced great difficulty in pronouncing the former sound. Quintilian (I, 4, 14) tells us of Cicero ridiculing a Greek witness who could not pronounce the first letter of Fundanus (ap. Lindsay, p. 58). Yet by the IVth century of the Christian era, the Greeks had evolved that sound. There is no such a thing as a race congenitally and constitutionally for ever in the impossibility of pronouncing a sound. Also, although the Greeks had lived in intimate contact with the Romans for centuries, they did not adopt this conspicuous sound of their language, which shows that sounds are not easily borrowed from one speaking group to another, and that it takes powerful psychological reasons for such an event to take place.

Diez himself laboring under the former misapprehension had interpreted (Gram. 5, 310) such spellings as *ffago*, *ffalso* in Portuguese as a sign of that Iberian inability to pronounce the *f*. We would rather see in this doubling of the *f* a sign of the strong pronunciation of that consonant. Similar spellings are found in Roussillon in the XIIIth century where there can be no question of that inability: *ffo* = *fo* 1279; *ffeyt fo* 1284 (Ordin. d. l. Cour d. bailli d. Perpignan ap. Luchaire, Id. Pyr., p. 351). The part played by *f* in Basque phonology appears on the contrary to be quite important. For instance, primitive *h* became *f* in Basque, *ofe* for *ohe*, *afari* for *auhari* (Gavel, op. cit. p. 300) and *v* becomes *f* not *b* in borrowed words; *kafi* which comes from Gascon *cavi* or *gavi* (Lat. *cavea*) and presupposes also, by the way, in Gascon the existence of a Romance *v*, which it has completely lost in the modern dialect. This is also Gavel's opinion loc. cit. p. 303, who adds that Basque then may not have had for the sound of *v* that repugnance which it evinces to-day, for, if a word like *festa* has become *besta*, it is evidently through a from *vesta*. A proper name from Latin *Fagus* is *Payueta*, in Spanish Basque, while in French territory it is *Fagaldi*; *fagus* in the various dialects has become *bago*, *pago*, *phago*, *fago*. And to show that there is no French influence in the preservation of *f* in the last word, it is enough to say that it is precisely on the Gascon side, that is to say where initial *f* has become *h* more completely than in Spanish, that this pronunciation exists. On the contrary the transformation of *f* into *ph* appears recent enough since the word *fourchette* has become in lower Navarrese *phurtshêt*. In regard to Gavel's deduction that Gascon and also Basque may have known the *v* sound at one time of their history, in the early period of the Middle Ages, Prof. Menéndez Pidal would probably present the same objection that he does to Gavel's assumption of the existence of *v* in Old Spanish, from its hardening into *f* in words like *nuef*, *nief* (Gavel, Essai sur la pronunciation de . . ., p. 189): "Las formas antiguas *nief* for

nieve etc. no prueben que *v* fuese labiodental; no existiendo una fricativa sorda labiodental, al quedar final la *v* y ensordecerse se tenía que cambiar en la única sorda posible" says Prof. Menéndez Pidal (RFE 1921, p. 182). But if the *v* had not been labiodental but bilabial, would it not have hardened into *p*?

Not that we deny all share to the Basque language in the curious transformation of *f* into *h* which characterizes both Gascon and Castilian. It is very possible that the strong aspiration of the Basque would have appealed to the Latin communities bordering on Basque territory. The prestige of the Basques through the VIIIth and IXth centuries must have been very great over the neighbouring populations. They were the indomitable, whom neither the Arabs nor the great Carolingians could subdue. They did massacre Roland's command in a rearguard action that had such consequences that the Saxons rose up in revolt against Charles and the great king could not avenge his defeat. What must have been the impression produced by such deeds on their immediate neighbours?

If one objects that under the Romans their prestige must have been just as great, since the Basques remained unconquered even then, the answer seems to be that Rome's majesty, the division of the world into the Romans and the Barbarians, must have deprived the latter from any influence, except when they entered the realm of civilization, like the Goths in Constantinople in the IVth century. The case of a Tacitus extolling the Germans is but a conscious effort of a highly cultured man towards a striking and rhetorical antithesis. The time of Christianization, the Visigothic and Merovingian period, was not propitious to such outside influence; then, again, all true spiritual life was centrifugal, coming from Rome, from the Christian head. The IXth century, on the contrary, was very favorable to the creation of such a local prestige. The authority of the Church of Rome, by the way about to suffer an eclipse, had not yet replaced the great spirit of Christianization which characterizes the period just passed. Charlemagne's empire was one of fact not of right, different from that of Rome which overawed the imagination of the peoples. To the contemporaries, it was just great in proportion as it did things. This is why it crumbled down so rapidly. The Basques' neighbors, whose vision, by that time, must have become quite narrow, may well have compared the Carolingians and the Basques, and found the latter, if they were not too inhuman and sanguinary, a match in prestige and power to the shapeless giant whose size they could not estimate. We must not forget that outlaws, and the Basques were that on a fine scale, will, at such times of narrow vision and interest in purely local life, enjoy a reputation which seems astounding to a more cultured age. Then it is that legends like

that of Robin Hood, some of the heroes of the chansons de geste, will grow, which literature may not always gather.

The people of the regions bordering on Basque territory may then have admired these mountaineers, and, consequently they may have been struck by some of their most remarkable habits, among which those of speech were surely not the least conspicuous. The youth, especially, may have carried this admiration to the point of more or less unconscious imitation. Among these features readily observable and striking, we must certainly put aspiration. It seems indeed that the aspiration or breath, in the Basque dialects that have preserved it, on French territory, plays a very important, peculiar and dramatic part. The fact that it varies between dialects shows it to be, or have been, a live element, responding directly to an inner feeling, with little of the automatic, traditional, meaningless sound that it is in the other languages, German or English, for instance: it is something like the accent of expression of modern French. It must have had this character in a still more pronounced manner in those times. It is still very frequent, as initial, intervocalic, after certain consonants, but what is remarkable and significant, is that it characterizes for instance the second person singular in verbs: it thus still marks the direct relation and address of man to man (cf. Gavel, op. cit. p. 450 ff.). It is not necessarily connected with *f* nor is it a disintegration of *f*, but rather a sound that has been constantly added to the others, and as we said above, the live, creative or at least expressive element of speech.

Out of seventy words, twenty have the aspiration; *Paul* is *Phaul, Peter Phetir, corps khorpitz.* The demonstrative whose use and transformations may so strikingly characterize popular speech is *hau, hori, houra.* Whenever a direct appeal or call is made, aspiration plays its part: possessive second person is *hire,* and while *zutu* is the pronoun thee in respectful speech, it is *hai* in the familiar, for Basque grammar, phonology and morphology, distinguishes this feature a great deal more than do our other European languages. For instance, while the respectful form for thou art is *zira,* the same person in the familiar speech is *hiz*; *joan,* to go, gives *hoa* for thou goest in the familiar speech and *zoaze* in the respectful speech; *go,* in the familiar imperative is *hoa*; thou remaineth in the respectful speech is *zaude,* in the familiar *hago*; thou art walking is *zabiltza,* respectful speech, and *habila,* in the familiar etc. Adverbs which have a dramatic connotation are *heben,* here; *hor,* there; *hola,* so; *haboro,* more; *hauitz,* much; *hobeki,* better (cf. L. Gèze, Elém. d. gram. basque, Bayonne, 1875; J. van Eys, Gram. comp. d. dial. Basq. Paris, 1879, p. 153).

All that we know of the history of the Basque language leads us to believe that aspiration was much more general and important

in the early centuries than it is to-day, and that there has been a regression. For instance, the dialects of the Spanish Basques have lost it.

If the Basques enjoyed that local prestige which we surmise and which the historical conditions of the Carolingian and early feudal period warrant us to assume, this striking feature of their speech, which they evidently carried into Romance when they spoke Romance (since it was, with them, not a phoneme but an accent) must have impressed their audience and caused imitation. Quite naturally this aspiration may have been more striking, more imitable in the consonant which is part aspiration (so-called), breath, causing this breath element to be strongly emphasized. *f* = *fh*. We see very clearly how an exaggerated *f* affects that character in the French interjection of contempt: *fhh*. The dropping of the initial sound in the group *fh* is easily understood and paralleled in many other instances: *ps* = *s*; *fl*, *cl* = *l*; *chl* = *l*; *cs* = *s*; in English *knot* = *not* etc.

In Basque itself the result may have been this in some cases, when Latin words, according to Gavel, op. loc. cit., borrowed at a very early period had their *f* changed into *h*. In other words, the *f* has been preserved; in others and in some dialects the *f* has changed into *b*, *p* or *ph*. *Ph* seems to be the intermediary stage. This is because when the breath element receives the main force, the labiodental is easily changed into a bilabial for the reason that a labiodental devoid of its breath element sounds very much like a surd bilabial, and this is what happens when the breath element receives exaggerated emphasis in such a way as to be pronounced separately, *fh*, *f-h*, *p-h*, *ph*. Again in dialects which lose the aspiration, the *p* remains alone or is even changed into a *b*. This shows what a fluctuating life aspiration has had in that language.

Also the fact that only initial *f* was thus treated shows indeed the influence of that dramatic aspiration which was and is naturally prefixed to the word, or the linguistic unit.

Not that this development of *f* to *h* in Spanish and Gascon could not have taken place as a purely internal evolution. Meyer-Lübke, Gram. I, 408, mentions the fact that Pap. 329 gives as words of Padua, *hemena* = *femina*, *hate* = *fac te*. We are however absolutely ignorant of the conditions, social and linguistic, which have brought this about in Italy. Yet in regard to *f* = *h* in Spanish and Gascon, we are facing a certain coincidence of factors which leads us to see a direct relation between these languages and Basque, to wit: that Basque is a language in which aspiration seems to have played or even is still playing a special, characteristic, striking rôle; that this aspiration may enter, reinforce the breath element of *f* and transform it, is

also an assured fact since this breath is of such a nature as to transform itself into *f* as we have seen above. Although it does not always transform it, it is known to have done so. Another fact is that Spanish and Gascon did not begin to develop this feature, at the earliest, until the Carolingian period, that is to say, at a time when Basque prestige over their neighbours must have been very high, and increasingly so with the advent of the feudal régime and the local life which then prevailed, and when the Basques' self assertiveness and pride in their own achievement must also have been great, very likely expressing itself linguistically in a still more striking use of the aspiration which is so characteristic of them.

It is equally in the initial in Spanish and Gascon, and as a proof that it is due to an excess of energy in the pronunciation of the *f*, we may consider that Castilian did not transform the *f* into *h* before the diphthong, *fuerte*, *fuego*, presumably because the energy spent on the diphthongization *o* = *ue*, reduced that necessary for the production of *fh* and the *f* remained intact. The transformation took place in Gascon *fuego* = *huek* but in exchange Gascon dropped the final vowel.

That in reality the development of *f* = *h* is quite posterior to the period of prestige and importance of the Basques, as far as we can judge, is no great objection, because this transformation in the Romance languages appears to have gained ground rather slowly, as is evident for both the Spanish and French sides from the accounts of Menéndez Pidal and Gavel respectively: v. g. the latter, p. 513, notes that the oldest strata of Gascon words borrowed by Basque still had their etymological *f* (which Basque either preserved or changed to *ph*) while in the more recent borrowings the *f* had been changed to *h*. Also as has already been said, the Spanish and Gascon feature is of different nature from the Basque, at best inspired by the Basque aspiration which for special social and psychological reasons must have caught at some time the fancy of neighboring linguistic groups. It took therefore time for it to grow and develop. For as Menéndez Pidal says so pertinently, p. 565 of the Orígenes: "Hay que desechar la falsa creencia de que los cambios linguísticos se realizan rápida y casi momentáneamente."

The grasseyement or uvular pronunciation of the *r*, which starting from Paris is gaining ground in Basque although so contrary to the linguistic habits of the people (Gavel p. 240) may give one an idea of the successful invasion of a sound, due to social prestige and peculiar attractiveness or distinction of the phonetic innovation. Its progress in Germany is still more to the point, because, although introduced at a time (XVIIIth cent.) when French prestige, or the prestige of French was at its height,

it is and has been continuing its advance long after that prestige suffered an appreciable diminution.

At any rate, we are certainly in presence of an active psychological cause at the basis of such peculiar developments in these Romance languages. The cause cannot be, by any means, of a negative nature, a sort of physiological incapacity, but rather an exaggerated expenditure of energy. It was a creation of the period. There is no reason and no interest in looking for its source in a doubtful linguistic feature several centuries older.

Prof. Menéndez Pidal has strengthened his theory of inherited and almost indelible dialectal habits of speech with a similar explanation of three or four other linguistic features. He connects such phonetic transformations Span. *mb* = *m* (*palumba* = *paloma*), Catalonian, Aragonese *nd* = *n* (*Gerunda* = *Gerona*); Span. *ld* = *ll* (*Ermegildus* = *Armillo*) or cases of sonorization like *alquantas* = *alquandas* (Glos. Emil. 73) with the similar Osco-Umbrian features: *sakrannas* (Lat. *Sacrandas*); *iuenga* (Lat. *iuvenca*); *apelust* (Lat. *pendlo*) (cf. Planta Gram. 1, 1893, pp. 418, 552 etc.; C. D. Buck, A Gram. of Osc. and Umbr. Boston, 1904, 135). Sertorius born in Nursia, a Sabellico-Oscan country, founded *Osca* (*Huesca*?) where he established schools for the sons of the better Spanish families. He naturally introduced, if not his dialect, at least certain habits of speech or pronunciation like the above which have more or less maintained themselves to this day. They are thus related with similar features in modern Italian dialects or in Latin inscriptions: v. g. *commurere* for *comburere* (CIL XIV, 850). *Convenicum* = *Comminges* of the South of France would be explained in the same manner, except that in Gascony and Spain, this transformation would have been helped by inherited Iberian tendencies; Ex. *zombat, zombit* = *zomat, zomit* (cf. H. Gavel, Élém. d. phon. basque, Paris, 1920, p. 288).

But what of similar developments all over France for instance. *Cumba* is *Come* with *b* out in Aveyron, Ardenne, Isère, Saône-et-Loire, Oise, Côte-d'Or, Moselle (quoted by Millardet to Prof. Menéndez Pidal Orig. p. 299); *b* of *cambra* falls out in the Marne, Aisne, Somme and French South West (ALF 704); *jambon* very naturally keeps its *b* everywhere (ALF 710); *camera* on the other hand developed a *b* (or *p*) in the South, but in the Somme, Oise, Aisne, Nord, the *b* either did not develop or dropped out (ALF 224); etc.

Gréban Passion, mns. *A*, 7488: vecy tous nos grans dieux *tumés* et renversés les pies dessus; mns. *B* and *C* *tumbés* and if it is alleged that the first *tumés* goes back to OHG *tumon* REW 8979, we note that in Walloon, *tomber* loses its *b* ALF 1311, REW 8975 just as much as in Catalonian and Spanish, Calabrian, Old Italian and Vionnaz. OHG *tumb* REW 8776 gives OF

entombir and *entomir*. Montaigne writes *Plommières* for *Plombières* where he was in 1580, and that was the local name and pronunciation then (Journ. d. Voyage D. Ancona edit. p. 20).

The same will be true of *nd* = *n*, essentially characteristic of Catalonia, but which is found also, not only in Sicilia and Gascony, which would fit tolerably well with the theory in question but in many other places, in France among others. For instance, *vindemia* loses its *d* in the Côte-d'Or, Nièvre, Suisse romande, French Piémont etc. (ALF 1357); *anar* for *andare* is found as far north as Puy-de-Dôme and as far east as the Alps.; *ponere* (ALF 1059) either did not develop a *d* or dropped it in Pyrénées Orientales (Catalonia) Ariège, Puy de Dôme, Allier, Haute-Marne, Somme Vosges. In the Meuse and elsewhere there was assimilation of *n* and *r*, *ponere* = *pore*, a phenomenon quite characteristic of Italy. Here of course, Iberian influence, which by the way did not prevent the epenthetic *b* in *camera* in Iberian Gascony!, must be entirely left out. The phenomenon must remain purely Osco-Umbrian. For Basque may have before the XVIth century sonorized the surd explosive (it does not do it to-day! these indelible tendencies are quite liable to disappear) after *n*, but never dropt the *d* after that nasal (cf. *ondo*, *otondo*, etc. Gavel, op. cit. p. 458, not. and passim).

We must bear in mind that the Atlas linguistique informs us only about a small number of words, but the information that it gives is, on the other hand, all the more important because, on account of the real linguistic unity of the France d'oui, phenomena like these, which are so contrary to French evolution must have had to contend with very strong opposing forces. This linguistic unity extends even to Provençal and Catalonian to the extent of causing uncertainty, for instance, as to whether French *u* is to be found in Catalonian or not. It is spoken in Perpignan: is it as such a Catalonian feature or a French feature? French, says Morel Fatio, Grundr. T. I, 1888, p. 676; Catalonian, says Paul Meyer, Ency. Brit. Art. Provençal.

As a matter of fact, in regard to these assimilations, *nd*, *mb*, to *n* and *m*, it is not only useless to suppose an inherited dialectal peculiarity, but it is positively harmful for the understanding of the phenomenon in the Romance languages. It thus loses its real significance. If the groups *-mb*, *-nd*, were to evolve, they could do so, for instance by the merging of the nasal into the vowel, the vowel receiving thus a phonetic increase; it also created a nasal group that left the consonant, *b* or *d*, safe. This took place in French at the time it diverged from the Koinê, after the VIIIth century and in accordance with the general linguistic trend of that language which began then to assert itself, and which caused a great emphasis of the stressed vowel, with enrichment of its

phonology. Nasalization, by the way, is nothing but this and is closely related with diphthongization, having results intimately connected with it. Where one takes place, the other could easily be expected. For instance, English nasalization, by the side of diphthongization is quite pronounced.

Yet the evolution of the group might be precisely along the other way, preserving the vowel and the nasal separate, because of no special importance of the vocalism, in which case the dental and labial consonants could easily merge into one, *mb* = *m*, *nd* = *n* the stop being absorbed in the continuant. Of course, a language like literary Italian will as much as possible, preserve the complete phoneme of the Latin, under learned influence, but the presence of *amendue* by the side of *ambidue* shows the natural tendency of the language which did not overemphasize the vowel as French did.

There is in the coincidence of both phenomena nothing decisive in regard to the Osco-Umbrian origin as Prof. Espinoza (Language III, p. 149) seems to infer. Lindsay, Lat. Lang. p. 170 referring to this pronunciation: *grundire*, non *grunnire* App. Prob. 199 ap. Schuchardt, Vok. I, p. 146 etc., mentions the common pronunciation of London "Lonnon town" and in regard to *mb* = *m* recalls the evolution *lamb, climb, womb to lam, clim, wom.* Both phenomena are intimately related to one another. The French cases as seen in the ALF show for both phenomena about the same regions: North, Picardy, East. And in the same way as by a sort of movement in the opposite direction, we find *aripendo* (*are-pennis*) in a Catalonian document of 1176 (O. Denk, Einf. in die Gesch. d. akat. Lit., p. XXX, 1893, Old Sp. *arapende*); just as unexpected a development is to be found in Picardy (ALF 940) where *omelette* is *omblette.* In France of course, the victorious influence of the national language, so clearly opposed to these assimilations, must everywhere have tended to suppress them, although Old French, as well as the dialects shows the various hesitations due to these diverging possibilities v. g. *plombet, plommet, plummet* (Eng. *plumber* = *plummer*); *venongerot,* from *vindemia* etc.

There must also have been great fluctuations, not due to inherited tendencies but to the springing up of new ones and the dying out of old ones. Thus the advent of Castilian stopped the reduction of *nd* to *n*, although that of *mb* to *m* was already accomplished (for old words but not for new, cf. *limbo*), precisely because the peculiar energy of pronunciation, similar to French in this, tended to produce an epenthetic *d* in some cases, *tendré*, and also an epenthetic *b*, *homine, hombre.* This, as Prof. Menéndez Pidal observes is a new departure in Spanish phonetics, quite in keeping with the new social life and spirit of the group. Provençal, which

has *anar* (cf. Anglade, Gram. d. l' a. prov. Paris, 1922, p. 336), has for *molere, molre, ponere, ponre, opponere, opponre, tollere, tolre,* with corresponding futures, *tolrai, tenrai, valrai, venrai,* forms like *pondre, tendrai, vendrai,* being evidently due to French influence; in the same way, as under Spanish influence, modern Catalonian, has by the side of *aniré, absoldré, pondré, voldré, valdré, tendré* (Lliçons Gram. Catal. Vallès, Barcel., 1916), while old Catalonian forms are *tenré, convenras, attenré, tolrai, tollra* etc. (Doc. of 1057, ap. O. Denk, Einf. p. XXX).

This being the case with Provençal, we are not surprised to find *amé* instead of *ambé* for *avec = with,* in the modern dialect. This inherent fitness of the phenomena explains *-ld- = -ll-* (*Ermegildus = Armillo*) which is a sort of parallel to *-lt- = -ch-* (*multo = mucho*).

Also linguistic phenomena must happen along lines determined, in part by the organs of speech, the same in all men. Here are then reasons why coincidences will take place without the intervention of a direct influence. For instance, English evolved intervocalic *v* out of *b* as did the Romance languages, and also palatalized *k*, not identically but similarly to the Romance languages (*Kirche = church*). Latin *w* became *v* and Germanic *w* became *v* and we do not have to suppose a mysterious inheritance or bequest of linguistic habits from one group to another. No other phonetic condition is required but that it be along normal lines of evolution. In fact much more difficult development involving peculiar shiftings of articulation will take place quite unrelated: *jucher* (*juccare*) comes to be *huker* in some parts of Charente-Inférieure and Deux-Sèvres (ALF 733) and *pigeon* is *pihon* (loc. cit. 1066), a phenomenon very similar to what took place in the same sound in Castilian.

Indeed when one sees the pain taken by the scholars to find such connections between phenomena it would seem that languages do not constantly create sounds, that sounds are created once for all. The reverse is true: the history of languages shows that unexpected creations constantly occur. Menéndez Pidal himself says in regard to Saroihandy's suggestion that such a sonorization as *rangura* for *rancura* (1070, S. J. Pena, Orig. 307) is of Iberian origin: "but this sonorization is also found in Italian dialects, Albanian and modern Greek" (and yet it is a Basque phenomenon, cf. *sanctu = saindu* Gavel, p. 512); and on the other hand if Old Basque sonorized the initial *t*, so did Old High German v. g.: Goth. *thriskan* = G. H. *drescan*). Prof. Menéndez Pidal seems then to imply that as long as other languages could evolve this sonorization *rancura = rangura*, there is no reason why Spanish dialects could not do likewise. Do we attribute the Romance change from *au* to *o* to the survival of another Umbrian feature

(*Claudius* = *Clodius*)? And yet when we see such testimony as that of Suet. Vesp. 22: "Aurum rustici orum dicebant, ut auriculas oriculas", we would be tempted to do so, were it not for the uncontrovertible evidence of French *causa* = *chose*.

What is more natural or easier than such assimilations *mb* = *m*, *nd* = *n*; they are just as likely to be made as *dr* = *r*, *nr* = *r* etc. and many languages know them[1]. The problem is not in the creation of such forms but in their adoption and extension. The reason for the latter is not to be sought so much in distant antecedent conditions, but rather in contemporaneous circumstances. The same is true of *u* = *ü* which we feel an hypothetic Celtiscism cannot explain. But we propose to enter more fully into this question in another chapter, and show how much in keeping with the rest of French vocalism this transformation is, and how well this vocalism corresponded with actual, contemporaneous conditions, both social and linguistic, in France.

[1] Cf. W. v. Wartburg's somewhat similar views, Zeitschr. 48 (1928), p. 460.

Chapter XIII.

Statement of the problem of Romance linguistics and social reasons underlying it.

It will be seen that the problem of the differentiation of the Romance languages is to be formulated somewhat in this manner: Vulgar Latin developed, down to the IXth century, a certain number of features the most important of which, in phonetics was syncopation; in morphology, a two-case declension system already tending to a simplified one case form, an article placed in front of the noun, a new future, an analytical passive, in syntax, an extension of the type of constructions with *ut,* while preserving with a few verbs very frequently used the former passive infinitive construction.

The creation of these features characterizes essentially the transformation of Latin into Romance. Their production in common in Italian, French, and Spanish is the clearest proof of the preservation of the unity of speech in Romania until the end of the period in question. Dialectalization had not yet gone beyond the stage of a few regional uses, not always directly related with this thorough recasting of the linguistic system of Latin.

The diverging and separate evolution of these three important branches of the Romance languages does not begin until after the completion of the transformation just mentioned.

While most of these phenomena remained in the Western group of the Romance languages as a common patrimony, two of them which had not yet reached their full effect during the Vulgar Latin period, pursued then a different course according to the new conditions of the respective speech groups. They concentrated in them the linguistic reaction of the new social life of the various peoples, they helped to give it characteristic expression, and were, in a way, the nuclei around which the recently born languages started on their own and respective evolution.

These two most important features of dialectalization, decisive in their consequences, were on the one hand the steady continuance of syncopation in French while this movement was arrested in Italy and to a lesser extent in Spain; on the other hand, the

crystallization of the two-case system in Old French, the simplification being checked there while it continued in the other languages to the extent that it left but few and vanishing traces in the somewhat belated appearance of their first documents.

These two phenomena may well be considered the pivots on which the whole dialectalization in the West turns. Even features in appearance independent of these two main factors may be proven to be connected with them. At any rate their importance is manifest to every one.

This divergence of evolution between the Romance languages is clearly connected with social factors which must be duly emphasized according to their importance.

With the end of the VIIIth century, Romania ceases to be a real active entity. The powerful causes making for spiritual and linguistic unity which we have analyzed in the first part of this paper: intense colonization civil and religious, thorough christianization of the masses, cease their function. The political reconstitution of Romania, of the Roman empire under Charlemagne, is in reality the last burst of flame of a fire which is going out. While these active principles, radiating from one center or through it Rome, become more or less inoperative through the very completion of their work, each region becomes open to new influences. Latin or Romance movements of the early period will be superseded in the latter part of the IXth century by local or regional life getting its inspiration and fuel from within, from varied centers out of which all activity radiates and towards which it converges.

In this new arrangement of forces, the situation of France preserves a social characteristic which will be of paramount importance from a linguistic point of view. Let us consider it a moment.

Hegel in his Philosophy of History estimated the whole Roman civilization as a reaction (antithesis) in the wrong direction from the freedom and emancipation of Greek culture, towards dependence and serfdom of the spirit. But he overlooked a most important factor. Spiritually speaking, Roman civilization was the uplifting of the low, of the poor, of the barbarians, the ignorant, to the dignity of man. The upper classes never raised themselves above the level of Greek culture, but the lower classes kept on mounting higher and higher in spiritual dignity. A partial symbol of it was the general Roman citizenship granted so liberally; yet most of this uplifting was done through religion, principally through the Christianization of the Roman Empire, accomplished finally by the VIIIth century.

The spiritual meaning of it was that the lowest slave became a man and had a soul, for which Jesus the son of God had died. In other words the evolution of Roman civilization is mainly a great democratization carried out on a gigantic scale: it is marked

by the triumph of the ideal of the masses. The aristocratic spirit of the last centuries of the Republic with its elegance, skepticism, gives way before the rising tide of popular modes of thought and consequently of speech. The strong religious bend of the lower classes brings about a revival of religious feeling all over the Empire as is so clearly shown by Boissier in the Fin du paganisme and Duchesne, Origines du christianisme. This fervor, as the centuries go by, increases by leaps and bounds. This was the principal cause of the triumph of Christianity in the IVth century. That the higher classes were carried away by the religious ideal of the lower will at once become manifest if one compares the cool intelligence of a Scipio or a Caesar in supernatural matters with the sombre piety of a Constantin or a Julian the Apostate.

How was that to be translated into linguistic conditions? The main factor in the evolution of Latin was the constantly increasing force of the stress at the expense of quantity. This was above all a popular tendency. The reason for this victory of the stress must certainly have been the undefinable relation between this insistance on the tonic syllable and the feeling with which the soul of the speaker is affected, this being greater in a man of the people than in a man of the world better trained to tone down his affectivity.

Already apparent in the Saturnian verse and in the rhythmic poetry of the soldiers as preserved for us by Suetonius, it was somewhat held in check in the speech of the élite who gave a new life to quantity on which alone classical poetry is based. This linguistic influence of the aristocracy on the common speech was but the counterpart and the effect and expression of the social relation prevalent during the Republic and early part of the Empire: the somewhat inferior position of the masses strongly subordinated to the aristocracy; the Senate and patrician families ruling the Latin world in deed, thought and speech. The advent of the Empire lowered this aristocracy and raised the common people; the speech tendencies of the latter were not only less ignored, but they asserted themselves more vigorously and commandingly. So the progress of the stress, one of the most important popular speech peculiarities, became more apparent as the lower classes grew more conscious of their own value or worth. In this respect, the pre-Vulgate translations of the Bible into the most incorrect vulgar Latin are quite significant. As is apparent from the quotations concerning them gathered by Rönsch in the first pages of "Itala and Vulgata", the fathers of the Church, Arnobius, Tertullian, Jerome, Augustine, were divided in their own minds as to what they should think of them: the scholar and the Christian in them were diversely affected. On the whole the feature of self assertion and independence of the common people received their assent.

How this self assertion in the masses which was not of course confined to the followers of Christ, (they were but examples of it, conspicuous through the later success of their sect), reflected itself in the pronunciation, in the increase of the stress was already noticed by grammarians as early as the time of Domitian when: "plerosque verborum extremas syllabas non pertulisse, priorum dum sono indulgerent (L. Muller, De re metrica, Leipzig, 1861, p. 10). The élite more reserved and restrained, which is a general characteristic of the more cultured classes, naturally made less of the tonic accent.

The triumph of the ideal of the lower classes in the IVth century was therefore accompanied by the triumph of their mode of speech: the use of the rhythmic syllabic verse by Ambrose and Augustine, is surely a proof that the increase in the stress characterized then not only the speech of the vulgar but of the higher classes as well. It is also typical of the stooping down of the élite, of their reason for doing so and of the somewhat preponderant influence of the masses due to Christian proselytism by the end of the IVth century.

How much this élite caters to the common people is shown in many ways. For instance, by the experience of Augustine: "Passio autem quia uno die legitur, non solet nisi secundum Matt. Volueram aliquando ut per singulos annos secundum omnes Evangelistas etiam passio legeretur. Factum est. Non audierunt homines quod consueverant et perturbati sunt (Sermo 232, ap. Mabillon, Migne 72, 193). Another typical example of it is the action of the same Father in regard to the grammatical mistakes of his flock, who used, v. g. floriet for florebit, etc., which he, as a purist deplored, but as a priest having the people's welfare at heart, introduces into his own compositions to make them more intelligible (De doct. chr. II, 13, 20, Migne 33, ap. Budinsky, p. 263).

In his sermon of Easter 386, Ambrose says: Hymnorum quoque meorum carminibus deceptum populum ferunt. Plane nec hoc abnuo. Grande carmen istud est, quo nihil potentius. Quid enim potentius quam confessio Trinitatis quae quotidie totius populi ore celebratur? Certatim omnes student fidem fateri. Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum norunt versibus praedicare. Facti sunt igitur omnes magistri qui vix poterant esse discipuli (Ap. Ebert, op. cit. I, p. 177). Did not Augustine feel himself compelled to discard Jerome's translation of the Bible and to return to the Old Itala because the people not recognizing their former text were incensed at the change?

The three centuries and a half which follow are essentially occupied by the complete Christianization of the Roman Empire: the substitution of Christian ideas, feelings, practices, rites, to pagan ones. It is carried out as we have indicated in the early

part of this paper to the remotest parts of Romania and beyond its limits.

The whole spiritual and intellectual activity of this age is put at the service of this incomparable social work. Even in countries where a considerable intellectual élite existed, like Italy and Spain, this élite was bound to be mostly interested in this mission, therefore to come down to the level of those who must be taken care of, or catered to: the common people: socially, the influence and mentality of the latter must be predominant just as, if I dare make such a strange comparison, the thought of the public is the guiding power of the activity of the great merchants; although privately, they may snub the middle class person who makes up the bulk of their customers, yet, commercially speaking, this average public rules their business.

We therefore cannot agree with the views of those who see in the transformation of Latin the action of factors foreign to the natural and normal development of Roman civilization. For instance with Mark Liddell (Language II, 1926, p. 108 ff.) who attributes this transformation and especially the triumph of stress over quantity, to the use of Latin by foreigners. Such an explanation is more apparent than real. The revolution in accentuation does not become marked until the IVth century and was not completed until the end of the VIth; yet from the fourth century before the Christian Era, Latin had been adopted by foreigners: why should this effect have appeared so many centuries later? As for linguistic habits surviving the generation which speaks a foreign tongue, common every day experience shows the fallacy of such a conception. The son of foreigners raised in any country among natives, inherits absolutely nothing of his parents' linguistic habits. In spite of the great many foreigners who flock to Paris and whose sons speak French, no effect of their linguistic habits is noticeable on Parisian French and on French in general. The same is true in America where some of the best teachers and perfect speakers of English come from non-English stock. Augustine's statement in the De Doct. christ. 4, 10, 24: Afrae aures de correptione vocalium nec productione non iudicant, has not much bearing on the matter, since, at that very period, Italians themselves were passing from quantity rhythm to stress rhythm as is evidenced by the creation of the Church hymns by Saint Ambrose. If his rhythmic versification does not sin against quantity it is due to his own culture and also to the fact that he was bishop of a great cultured city, Milan, a center of culture from the time of Pliny (Ep. IV, 13. cf. Budinsky, p. 56). Augustine, bishop of Hippo had a far more rustic congregation. The characteristic which he attributes to the province, he should rather attribute to the class. In the most extreme province of the Roman Empire,

in Great Britain, inhabited by a people having a strong stress in their own language, Latin quantity was preserved long after the invasions of the Saxons, as Pogatscher (*op. loc. cit.*) has definitely proven, in fact just as long as in Rome herself. Such explanations go back to the period of the prehistoric age of philology, when it was considered that Latin had become corrupted by the barbarians and all changes in language were always due to outside disturbing causes.

We may consider the year 750 as the date which marks the end of this great spiritual conquest by the Church of the inhabitants of Romania. During this period of predominant influence of the masses, when the masses are the main object of the activity of all that is alive spiritually in Romania, we repeat that their mode of speech was equally bound to impose itself.

The linguistic evolution goes on therefore unimpeded: the increased intensity on the tonic syllable brings about the loss of quantity of the unaccented syllable, therefore the weakening of the endings, all unaccented. These endings become uninteresting and the morphology of the Latin declension is strongly undermined by the creation of a two-case declension system: the morphology of the verb is also affected for the same reasons and the synthetic passive for instance is finally superseded, after 750, by the Romance analytical form.

But already the phonetics of the accented vowel begin to undergo decisive changes. Not only have all accented syllables become long but the intensity continuing to increase, the vowels most susceptible to diphthongization, in which the characteristic element, palatal and labial respectively, is most easily exaggerated (*e* = *je*, *o* = *wo*), had already begun this movement. For *o* = *wo*, as early as the last centuries of the Roman Empire, the inscriptions show us quite a few cases. For *e* = *je*, nothing so clear appears, but the agreement of the most important groups of Romance languages in this respect, and the nature of the vowel might justify our belief of an early tendency towards diphthongization of *e*, which of course was in the origin nothing but a vanish sound hardly noticeable except by trained phoneticians.

Such was the linguistic situation around the year 800. At that date the situation in Romania changes. As was said above, the great Romance or Latin movements, Christianization, colonization both Germanic and monastic, are completed. They therefore cease to be active. Each region may then evolve according to its own conditions.

In no other region was the natural constitution of society so democratic in the spiritual sense of the word, that is to say so homogeneous from the point of view of culture as in Gaul, at least from the Vth century. The contrast with Italy and Spain is indeed

striking. A symbol of this essential difference, we find in a comparison between three contemporay writers really representative of their respective countries around the year 600: Gregory the Great of Italy, who in spite of his apparent contempt for learning was a powerful intellectual personality, Isidore of Seville, the great scholar and encyclopedist of his time, and Gregory of Tours, one of the main lights of France, yet in spite of his high social rank and birth, a lowly man of little cultural and scholarly attainment, although by nature perhaps the best and most ingenuous writer of the three.

This difference was not accidental, it was due in great part to the fact that Gaul had an essentially rural population, especially in the North which since the IVth century had been increasing in relative importance, while the population of Italy, and of Spain to a lesser degree, had its center of gravity in the cities. Cities are favorable to the constitution of an intellectual and social élite; a rural population being necessarily more scattered offers in general less opportunity for the close contact between people required for the establishment of higher culture. The culture of a rural population will therefore be intellectually on an even level, that is to say will usually bear a more democratic character, while that of city population is more likely to show greater contrast between groups, in other words will have an aristocratic character. This could easily be demonstrated.

The difference between the regions was bound to assert itself in many ways. For instance, in regard to Christianization.

In the cities of Italy, except Rome, where the aristocracy, for many reasons held on to an enlightened paganism, conversion was quite rapid, after that of Constantine (312). But religion was not to the irresponsible city people what it could be to an agricultural population. Already in the third quarter of that century, Ambrose the illustrious bishop of Milan, tells us that he had to introduce alternate singing into his church to keep faithful interested enough in the holy service so they would not be talking all the time. The country people for whom religion meant much more, did not give up paganism so readily; it was associated with every place, every act, desire, fear; in storm, frost, hail, rain and drought, health and disease of people and cattle, harvest and crops, divinity was potent and felt in everything. Christianity had to prove its value in all these domains before it could really triumph. The city population of Italy was quickly converted and the strongheadedness of the Italian peasants corrected by means of the rod. But the population of Gaul, preponderatingly agricultural gave a different character to its conversion. It was slower but more thorough, requiring all the care and zeal of the hierarchy and monks, but capable of deeper results and more ardent faith, and this prepared the French nation

for the role of eldest daughter of the Church and chief crusader that she assumed during the early Middle Ages.

It is this relative uniformity of culture of higher and lower classes in France which characterizes the Middle Ages in that country. It was the essential condition of that democratic cooperation of all classes animated by one common spirit for the accomplishment of the great works of the time. It is already apparent in the Merovingian period. For instance the building of cathedrals was, as a general rule, the work of the whole people: "A Toul en 1033, le peuple travaille volontairement à la reconstruction de l'abbaye de Saint Evu à Verdun" (Enlart, Manuel, d'archéol. franç., Paris, 1909, Mabillon, de re dipl., p. 582). The same thing happened at Saint Denis, Chartres etc. But as early as the VIth century, Gregory of Tours describes the enthusiasm of the mass of the faithful who transported by land and water the columns destined for the basilica of Saint Martin (Vit. Mart. I, II, cf. Enlart, op. loc. cit.).

This feature will characterize French culture, therefore French literature until a very late period.

In literature it begins very clearly in the Vth century. The general attitude of the clergy there is certainly marked by a greater preoccupation with the ideas, imaginations and moral welfare of the common people than either in Italy or Spain. In Gaul, preaching to the people was the main interest of the clergy, while Rome never encouraged it. Also the composition of the lives of the saints with their miracles for the edification of the masses was carried on in France much more extensively than anywhere else. Sulpicius Severus, Fortunatus, Gregory of Tours, Alcuin, all wrote lives of the saints for this very purpose. In fact it can almost be said that it became a Franco-Gallic genre. Gregory wrote the lives and miracles of the saints precisely because speaking like a man of the people, he would be better understood by them.

And this character of literature to be common to high and low, which we observe in Gaul alone as early as the VIth century continued at least until the second half of the XIIth century and to a certain extent as late as the Renaissance. So in France, the democratic or homogeneous character of its culture in keeping with or favored by the great social movements of the Merovingian period, was not changed or interfered with or diminished by the completion of their activity. It is clearly emphasized in the second half of the VIIIth century by the very reasons which caused Charlemagne to begin his reform of education. Charles' attention was called to the lack of grammatical knowledge (using the term in the sense it had then and up to the time of Dante which was that of correct standard language) of the clergy in France, by the letters he received from them. We may well

imagine that such letters could have been written to him only by men having a certain rank and authority. It is hardly conceivable that the curate of a remote hamlet or villa would have had occasion to write to the king. It is typical that the men put in charge of this reformation by Charles were not Gallo-Romans. Alcuin was Anglo-Saxon, Paul, Italian, Theodolfus, Spanish.

Homogeneousness of culture, the necessary basis of the democratic condition of the French nation, is, as we have just said, the cause of Charlemagne's lifelong fight against incorrect Latin which resulted, by the end of his reign (813) in the admission that this incorrect Latin in use among the people was not to be mended. Enough was done if the clergy in the official worship and among themselves (Usum latinitatis potius quam rusticitatis, qui inter eos scholastici sunt sequuntur (in monasteriis) Mansi XIV, 353 an. 817) used a more correct language. The people on the other hand, since under that name were comprised rich and poor alike, nobles and plebeians, could not be neglected and the preaching of religious dogma, morality and tradition in the people's own language was made an essential duty and function of the clergy by the great councils of that year (Mansi XIV, 1766, p. 85). This was tantamount to making the language a literary one, even if, at first, these sermons (Ut episcopi sermones et homilias sanctorum patrum prout omnes intelligere possint, secundum proprietatem linguae praedicare studeant, ib. p. 78) were not written. At once the people's language became the vehicle of literature.

Thus the reform of Charlemagne which might have changed the character of the nation by creating an aristocratic élite, did not succeed in shifting the center of gravity of culture from the masses. The educated clergy became rather both their leaders and their servants and in so far as it was both useful and influential did not form a class apart with particular or special ideals. The preaching in Romance, ordered as early as 813 in France, is the clear proof of this fact.

The public reading of the lives of the saints must also have continued to be an important practice of the clergy. Since the VIth century, at least, this reading had been one of the principal church exercises, especially in Gaul, as is evidenced among many other proofs by the care with which the leaders of the Church like Fortunatus, Gregory of Tours, Audoenus (Ouen), Alcuin, wrote the lives of the holy heroes so that they could be read with profit to the people. As late as the end of the VIIIth century, Alcuin was still writing the life of Saint Riquier for the monks of the abbey of that name to be read to the pilgrims that flocked to the sanctuary on the occasion of the saint's day, just as Gregory of Tours had done for Saint Martin and with exactly the same purpose. Now if Alcuin by the end of the VIIIth century still

wrote the life of Saint Riquier in simple but quite correct Latin to be read to the people as we have just mentioned, we must admit that a generation later, after 813, these same monks of Saint Riquier, since they obeyed the canons of the councils, translating their homilies into Romance, must have with still stronger personal reasons, translated that life of Saint Riquier which they read to the masses; and the same must have happened in Tours for the life of Saint Martin, in Paris for that of Saint Germain, in Poitiers for that of Saint Radegunde, in Reims for that of Saint Remy, Saint Cesaire in Arles, etc. And, by the way, the transition from these lives to the chansons de geste must have been a very natural one; the joculatores, as later in the case of the Pèlerinage de Charlemagne at the Lendi fair, according to Bédier, Lég. ép. IV, 155, may already even have commented these lives of the Saints, preparing themselves for the development of epic poetry that was to come later.

The fact of an extensive oral literature in Romance, based on Latin, is absolutely ascertained. The orders of the councils of 813, the very object of the composition and reading of many works, homilies, lives of Saints, laws, like the Salic law for instance, all intended for the mass of the people, made it imperative, as soon as the distinction was made between Latin and Romance.

Chapter XIV.

Effects of the social conditions on French linguistics.

What influence must all these events have had on the linguistic situation as it presented itself according to the account given in the preceding chapter?

This very important, far reaching, oral literature mostly in the hands of an, henceforth, educated clergy, will tend to generalize and reenforce whatever morphological features were still in a relatively sound condition: the two-case declension system among others.

It is evidently in conscious literary, oral or written, development that morphological features become systematized and lasting, receive an extension of life. In modern French, some uses of the subjunctive, the imperfect subjunctive, the preterit, still owe their precarious existence to newspapers, books, speeches. The two-case system was very important in allowing the order of words of the Latin to be adhered to. This was essential since the translating to be done was necessarily mechanical: a sort of transposition of sounds; an important change in the order of words would have required a special training not to be thought of at the time. Yet the Latin or near Latin order of words was conditioned by the two-case system. It must have received at once a new life from its being consciously and systematically made the pivot of a fluent translation of Latin into Romance.

If one will but try to realize what the three main branches of oral literature in translation, homilies, lives of Saints, laws, reaching important agglomerations of men and traveling into the smallest hamlets, must have done for the language, he will not wonder at the radical influence that we attribute to it in shaping the destiny of French.

This reason will appear insufficient only to those who fail to realize the importance of Church and religious life in those times, and to those who believe that the evolution of language is produced automatically by blind and mysterious laws with but little correspondance with the spiritual life of the speaking groups.

The literary use of the vulgar tongue in other civil and legal

functions must also have been facilitated, as is evidenced by the Oaths of Strasburg which present to us a literary specimen well formed, which would be incomprehensible but for the building up of the new vulgar tongue into a literary language due to the constant practice of two generations.

The difference between this practice of the first half of the IXth century and that of the second half of the VIIIth, lies mostly in this, that the literary use of the language, i. e. for cultural expression, in the first half of the IXth cent. and later of course, was conscious and directed by men having a literary or grammatical culture who acted as builders of the morphology and syntax of the language, while in the VIIIth, religious teaching was done in an incorrect language by men almost unconscious of this fact and possessed of a grammatical culture hardly superior to that of the man of the people. They were not building up a new language, they were using whatever material was at hand, divided between the forms which they saw in their books and those which they used and heard, helping themselves more or less at random from both stocks, quite unaware of the exact state of their performance. And yet, desultory as was the grammatical influence in the Merovingian period, it may already by the VIIIth cent. have begun to prepare the ground for what was to take place systematically later, determining a greater adherence or stability of flectional *s* or *t*, which is observable, although to a lesser degree than later, in the French documents of that century, in comparison with those of Italy, in the VIIIth century, we say, but not earlier, nor in the inscriptions as we have seen above.

Now these considerations are not hypotheses, they are facts either directly or indirectly certified: the sermons and generally the teaching of religion are attested by the councils, the translating of the lives of the saints and the legal acts is an unavoidable consequence of their purpose; and this, besides, we are bound to infer from the directions the clergy received from the councils and the practice which these councils must have engendered and did really engender. The fragment of Jonas is not however as illustrative as we would wish. The preacher in this case seems to have been a German-speaking individual writing his translation precisely because his translation was not in his native speech. It is very likely that the preacher whose native tongue was Romance did not have to write his translation. He translated fluently thanks to the two-case declension system which he preserved and which helped him to keep the same order of words, and to the transposition of corresponding sounds from Latin to Romance which practice must have made easy for him. People who speak patois and French, for instance, do it naturally when they pass from one form of speech to the other.

The two-case system which was already merging into a one-case kind was thus arrested in its development and rebuilt into the new language. We have before us here precisely this phenomenon: a leaning of the new language on the mother tongue. As French was to be the medium to be used for the first expression of the new soul of the modern world, it could be that only on the condition of receiving its power of literary intelligibility based on sentence forming, from Latin. The two-case system guaranteed that. The one-case system must at first have made the language unfit for literary production, that is to say for anything except the expression of the most material relations which tone and gesture contribute so much to make clear. Although we may not assume a complete disintegration of the declension at first in Italian and Spanish, the fact that its breaking down was not checked in any way must have contributed to the lack of literary production in these regions during the early Middle Ages.

But if on the one hand, the triumph of the democratic condition of the Gallo-Franks resulted in the early triumph of their popular speech and through this triumph, in the early official use of their speech for cultural purposes, consequently in the preservation of the two-case system, it resulted also in the continuance of the phonetic movements originated in Vulgar Latin: syncopation and diphthongization.

In other words, the people continued to pronounce the words with increased ictus on the tonic syllable, thus reducing the unaccented syllables that were still extant. At the same time, the tonic vowel thus emphasized was naturally diphthongized, while the use of their language for cultural purposes made them hold on to the live morphological endings and principally to the two-case system.

And this mode of pronunciation was accepted by all because, intellectually speaking, high and low made up the masses and the intellectual élite, mostly of the clergy, far from being self-sufficing, was in reality at the service of the common people who imposed their mode of thought and speech, while they accepted direction and teaching from the educated clergy. Linguistically this "give and take" of the Gallo-Frankish society was expressed by the triumph of the phonetics of the masses and the morphology of the leaders.

Thus the French continued to lengthen, diphthongize and transform all the vowels except *ī* generally: *a, ae, e*; *ĕ, ie*; *ē, ei, oi*; *ŏ, uo, ue, eu*; *ō, ou, eu*; *ū, iu, ü*.

The phonetic development of French, so different from that of Italian and Spanish, is therefore in its principle, the direct effect and consequence of the peculiar spiritual and social evolution of French society in opposition to that of the other Romance groups.

An example will make this clear. Latin *pĭra* became *pēra* in Italian and Spanish and stopped there, while the movement continued in France *to peire, poire*; that is to say, the short tonic syllable of classical Latin, under the influence of stress increase, became long all over Romania, but in French, continued to become still longer, still more important and complicated. In other words, French continued the movement commenced in Latin and carried it to its extreme consequences, while it stopped in Italy and to a lesser degree in Spain.

Now if it asked why only France was thus affected, the answer is that only in France did these particular conditions prevail. Only in France was there that interest in preaching religion to the people, only in France, was there during the Merovingian period a practical leveling of culture so that the existence of a class of relatively cultivated élite is not to be thought of, only for France (and Germany) was the ordinance of Charles' councils intended (813) by which preaching in the vulgar tongue (roman lingua rustica) was imposed. Therefore only in France was there recognized the existence of a Romance language as different from Latin, so that Romance (romana lingua) came to mean the language spoken in France. If, under French influence, Spain adopts the term as early as the XIIth century, Italy never did it until the XIXth century. Neither Dante nor yet Muratori know the term as applied to Italian. It meant there only the literary genre of the chanson de geste "quod de gestis nobilium antiquorum audiunt per vulgare quod Dirimatum vulgo dicimus et Romanum" as Rolandino, (Hist. of Padua, Ann. 1260, prolog. Cf. Muratori Antiq. T. 6, 32nd diss) says; and Muratori himself, loc. cit., examining the reasons of Brunetto "cur ipse, quum Italus sit, in Romana seu Francisca lingua scripserit" identifies Romance with French.

Finally as a consequence, only France had this great blossoming of oral literature in Romance in the three branches alluded to above, one of which, the lives of the Saints, seems to have transformed itself into, or at least to have prepared the way for the chanson de geste. Only in France therefore, and evidently more in the North than in the South since the South seems to have preserved something of the old aristocratic and literary culture (cf. Manitius, Gesch., T. 1, p. 119), was the morphological structure as embodied in the two-case system which, although already broken into, was still standing, taken advantage of, strengthened and made to last another period of history.

The preservation of final *t* in the third person of verbs, although far less important, is evidently a phenomenon of the same kind; but being devoid of real usefulness was abandoned much sooner.

It is true that the Carolingian Renaissance, inspired by an aristocratic ideal, in part a least, tended to create an intellectual aristocracy. But except in the immediate entourage of the emperor, this aristocracy was never influential. The councils of 813 are a confession of defeat of the movement of 787. Outside the court of the first Carolingians it must have been confined to the clergy. Now this clergy was in a different relation to the people from that of Italy and Spain: it was traditionally at the service of the people, principally preoccupied with their spiritual welfare.

On the other hand, only in France was to be observed the continuation of the phonetic transformation of Vulgar Latin which was begun in the rise and triumph of the masses. The curious part of the whole matter is that it is in France that this phonetic evolution, essentially Latin in its principle, continued along the lines indicated, as soon as Latin became the language of a group possessed of clear cut social tendencies. It is true that for the reason given above only in France was the morphological evolution delayed, while it continued uninterruptedly in Italy and Spain.

Chapter XV.

General considerations on the consequences of the triumph of the so-called democratic spirit in France.

The victory of the vulgar tongue was the victory of the democratic principle in France. In its first conflict with an aristocratic idiom, it had insured to the mass of the people in France, in opposition to the élite created by Charlemagne, a voice, an expression. During the difficult life of the IXth century, this expression was confined to the oral expression of the Christian doctrine and lives of the saints, with occasionally an important political statement like the Oaths of Strasburg.

As a matter of fact, it must have been at first similar to that of the preceding period, when, although the people were the object of all the care of the hierarchy, they were however rather passive, receiving not giving, having indeed a parmount importance, but like children in a family, because all the energy of the parents is spent on them, not because their conscious direction is followed. But they were already about to contribute actively to the creation of the new Christian spirit whose birth marks the beginning of the modern times, of the early Middle Ages.

The creation of Romance poetry, the Sequence of Sainte Eulalie (ca. 880) must have marked the first step in the shaping of the new consciousness of the people: its crystallization into a growing religious fervor, manifestly needing poetical and musical expression according to the law of the human spirit. The occasion may have been the introduction of the cult of a new saint in the western world. The significance of the phenomenon, however, resides in the active part of the people in the ceremony, completely in the hands of the clergy heretofore. This new participation is evidently due to the rise of a new active piety in the people, of a new deep Christian feeling reaching a relatively pure state.

The VI, VII, VIIIth centuries had been devoted to the completion of Christianization, the discarding or transformation of pagan superstitions. By the second half of the VIIIth century, the active contribution of the common people to religious life is still essentially of a superstitious, local nature.

The great heresiarch of the VIIIth century in France was very popular indeed, but a pure humbug, giving out that God and various angels whom he named had revealed themselves to him. He had crosses or little chapels erected at different places in the country where service was held. He distributed bits of his own hair and nails as relics. The same is true of the Spaniard Megitius who pretended to die on Good Friday and resurrect on Easter Sunday, thus passing himself off for the Son of God. He had also a letter which he said had fallen from heaven. This was a common trick with religious charlatans of the time: the 77th canon of the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle forbids the reading (at church?) of the very false letter fallen from heaven the year before (788), it must be burnt. Yet we must see in this the first direct entrance of the mass of the newly and thoroughly Christianized Gallo-Franks into the active life of the Church. Awkward, halting entrance if you will, but none the less significant.

The campaigns of Charlemagne and his successors against the pagans, Saracens, Saxons, Normans, must have crystallized the religious sentiment of the masses, combined it with the military and heroic spirit of obedience and fidelity to the chief: both being merged into the sublime conception of devotion to Christendom against her enemies which was to raise the XIth century into one of the most glorious ages of mankind. The fact that these repeated campaigns were participated in by the common man, caused this spirit to permeate into and vitalize the masses in the humblest hamlets and give to their religious thought an active and fruitful direction in contrast with the ridiculous and low superstition of the preceding century. By the end of the Xth, this sentiment has become an ardent flame. It is not the spirit of an élite. If we inquire into the nature of the aristocratic sentiment throughout these centuries, we will find that it is evidently much more lukewarm. Even an aristocrat (in spite of himself) like Gregory the Great, bent as he was, on the great work of Christianization inside and outside Romania, cannot have the white hot zeal of the real apostle. Is not his love of music significant in this respect. He found easier to flog the peasants into acceptance of the faith than to convert them; his liberalism in favor of the Jews is another sign of his aristocratic disposition. The common people, in proportion as their religious fervor increased, became more and more intolerant of Jewish incredulity. The Carolingian authorities were also very liberal in this respect, to the extent of changing market day to another day than Saturday in order not to interfere with the Jewish Sabbath. The religious feelings of the masses must have been still dormant, for Agobard (ca. 839), the archbishop of Lyons, complains that this exaggerated regard for them increases their audacity to such a point that they dare publicly to mock at

the Christian doctrine (Migne 104). They thus shake the faith of not a few. What would have happened to such Jews one hundred and fifty years later and during the Middle Ages in general can easily be inferred from, for instance, the maddening effect on the masses produced by the reports that some heretics (ca. 1023) in Arras and Orleans were teaching that the Virgin could not be the mother of Christ since a virgin cannot be a mother (Hefelé 4—2, p. 929 ff.; 5—1, p. 1545; ib. p. 698).

Such ideas must have been freely expressed by Jews in the first half of the ninth century without arousing feelings of indignation either among the people or the autorities. It is almost evident that Agobart refers to such talks in his letters against the licentiousness of the Jewish skeptical propaganda. In the early years of the XIth century these ideas excited an indescribable horror which expressed itself in rumors that the heretics mixed promiscuously at their meetings and burnt the children born of such coitus. How clearly here we have to deal with popular fervor arising from the burning faith of the common people is shown by the fact that, when the heretics were tried in the church of Orleans, the mob wanted to enter the church to dispose of them without awaiting the conclusion of their trial. The French queen Constance, tried at first to quiet the people, this being the natural aristocratic instinct, but she herself was finally so carried away by the surging indignation that when the culprits left to go the gates of the city to be burnt at the stake, she could restrain herself no longer. She hit one of the priests Etienne, her former confessor and put his eye out with her cane.

This incident is in every way characteristic: it shows both the growth of the religious feeling among the people: the active part taken by them in the creation of the Christian spirit of the early Middle Ages, and the irresistible power of this spirit born or developed in the masses which carried away the natural coldness and reserve of this élite; so that the élite ceasing to stand aloof from them, put at the service of the masses a natural ability for leadership and conducted a movement which it had not originated.

The activity of the Order of Cluny in matters of pilgrimages and crusades, as well as that of the great barons is precisely one in point.

The triumph of this creative and organized spirit of the masses in the early Middle Ages is marked by the democratic character of their literature. In the words of Jeanroy: "tous les genres poétiques cultivés dans la France du Nord s'adressèrent à la société tout entière sans aucune distinction de caste", there being nowhere an audience having "une culture d'esprit sensiblement plus délicate que le reste du public" (Origines de la poésie

lyrique, p. XVIII. C. Voretzsch, Altfr. Lit. 1925, p. 160). When therefore Schürr in Das altfr. Epos, p. 157, says that the public for whom this early literature was composed, was aristocratic, made up of lords and barons, not a public of the marked place, this statement can be agreed to as correct, only if it is meant that the chanson de geste of the higher type was not sung or written for a desultory rabble or populace, but to an organic social group with its leaders the lords. But Schürr's assertion that the latter alone "hatten Geschmack und Freude an der epischen Darstellung der Taten von Angehörigen ihres Standes" is to my mind incorrect.

William of Tyre, writing in 1187 his fine Hist. rer. i. part. transm. gest. that is to say, at a time when already this perfect harmony was no longer so striking, is still well aware of this social condition which prevailed at the time of, and explained the first crusade. He shows it in his description of the whole movement, but especially in his appraisal of the activity of Peter the Hermit whom he singles out as a man "vivacis . . ingenii . . et oculum habens perspicem" (Migne 201, 1, XI, 227). Of course he had to be inspired by God "Nam unde huic egeno et inopi et rerum necessariarum suffragiis destituto peregrinanti, et a patriis finibus longe posito, tanta fiducia, ut supra vires negotium sibi audeat assumere et voti consummatione habeat fiduciam?" And this clear-eyed priest Peter goes about his work in such a thorough business fashion: he visits the Pope first and then the great "Nec visum ei sufficere (when he reached France) quod hoc apud principes disseminaret nisi etiam et plebes et inferioris manus homines ad id ipsum piis exhortationibus animaret. Percurrens ergo nationes . . . et regna, pauperibus et abjectissimis personis . . id ipsum evangelizabat, cui tantam gratiam, ejus fidei meritum respiciens contulerat Dominus, ut raro unquam sine fructu populos conveniret" (op. cit. I, XIII, 230), a remarkable passage where the facts recounted tell the story of the importance and concurrence of the masses possibly even, of their acting as a reservoir of disinterested heroism and abnegation: "Non erat in regnis occidentalibus, qui aut aetatis aut conditionis aut status vellet esse memor . . sed omnes indifferenter manus dabant" (I, XVI, 235).

Everybody, high and low, was steeped in the heroic and religious ardour of the time. And very naturally so: the fighting against the various enemies of society and faith had been done by all, from the time of the Merovingians and especially under the Carolingians against the Saracen, Saxon, Norman etc. All the expeditions contained their natural proportion of villains and lords. The pilgrimages, the cruisades were joined in by all, because all had the common inspiration of devotion to Christendom, therefore the disposition to admire hero-saints like Roland or Guillaume who were their natural ideals.

What is more, the transformation from the reasonably religious attitude of a Charlemagne and his environment, into an exclusive, consuming, all devouring fervor is essentially the work of the masses, being purely instinctive, intuitive, as we have shown above, and that fact is entirely ignored by Schürr, p. 66, who only considers the organization of this fire and not its origin and growth. A direct counterpart of this situation in France is to be found in Spain in the IXth century, in that era of martyrdom to which we shall revert later and in which the Spanish élite did not participate. If the monks of Cluny with the French crusaders whom they led played such an important part in the heroic age of the reconquista, the XIth century, so that the most active kings and the Cid himself leaned considerably on them (Menéndez Pidal, Orígines, 1926, p. 508 ff.), was is not due principally to the inexhaustible ardor of the French masses out of which they came, which ardor must of necessity cool down in contact with the reality and perhaps the charm of Arabic culture?

The conditions of life and war which were to prevail, under the Valois, when in the great battles of the Hundred Years war, the seigneurs alone practically fought, are of course a later development, born of the distinction of classes, and birth and growth of communal life.

Linguistically, this spirit expressed itself in the language of the Roland, in its parataxic, antithetic construction, simple bulding of sentences, and in the evergrowing diphtongization and tendency for the accented syllable to absorbe the whole vocalism and consonantism of the word, as has been shown by K. Vossler (Frankr. Kult. i. Spieg. s. Sprachentw., Heidelberg, 1921, pp. 1—128).

Dialectalization subsequent to the disappearance of the Latin Koinê in the first half of the IXth century and the cessation of the unifying spiritual movements of the Merovingian period, which had been accelerated by the establishment of the feudal system in the second half of the IXth century, receives then a setback. It is to be remarked that this dialectalization simply affected the phonetics of the language and did not prevent in France the effects of the cultural use of the dialects on the morphology. In other words this dialectalization was mainly an increase of local differences of pronunciation, of local accent. Such an effect as this is implied in Conon's complaint of the fun made by Queen Alix of his Picard accent: "La roine n'a pas fait ke cortoise Ki me reprist, ele et ses fius, li rois Encore ne soit me parole franchoise Si le puet bien entendre en franchois" (Ed. Wallensköld, p. 223).

The growth of a new national language, embodying the most characteristic of such changes and used in the expression of the common feelings and imaginations, viz.: the chanson de geste, will effectively tend to reduce the dialects proper to the rank of patois,

spoken only by a part of the population, merely serving for the most practical purposes and not for the expression of the higher life of the spirit and whose evolution is consequently devoid of its natural, guiding and balancing forces and left almost entirely to inferior, partial and disturbing causes.

In this entire question, the social causes are so clear and evident that it is suprising they have not been perceived before. The reason for this must be the influence of the mechanical and metaphysical interpretation of linguistic facts which prevailed in an earlier period: mechanical in the sense that languages being essentially phonetic systems, phonetic laws were supposed to be automatic and ruthless like those of the inorganic world; metaphysical, because when a desire for understanding any linguistic fact was felt, recourse was had to the mysterious influences of race and climate.

Chapter XVI.

The situation in Italy.

The situation in Italy was very different from that in France. The democratic spirit of Christianity was always more or less in contradiction with the natural constitution of society where the aristocratic spirit based on the existence of a numerous élite was more normal in the nation. Even during the Merovingian period when the great democratic work of thorough Christianization and colonization of Romania was taking place, it is easy to find indications of that essential contradiction.

While as we have seen, Gregory of Tours wrote lives of saints in incorrect Latin precisely because, being a relatively uncultured man as he says, he will be more directly within reach of the masses, Gregory the Great, on the contrary in his Dialog. de vita and miracul. patr. Italian. (ap. Ebert, op. cit. I, p. 521) says that if he had wanted to repeat the proper terms of those who gave him information, he, the writer, could not very well have used their rustic speech. Which means that if he could not write more correctly than his homonym and contemporary of Tours, he would not write at all. Also while the peasants in Gaul are brought to Christian practices by preaching, reading and commenting the lives of the saints, in other words by persuasion, Gregory the Great in Italy has the peasants of Campania flogged and thus quickly converted. This shows him an aristocrat who has no patience with the common man's belated notions (J. Diac. III, I ap. Montalembert, op. cit. T. 2, p. 52 ff.). On the other hand, his lenient behavior towards the Jews, whom he protected against those who wanted to convert them by force, as he himself did the peasants (Ep. XIII, XII to Paschasius of Naples) is explained by that same natural regard for intellectual superiority as was the case with the Carolingians.

And yet Gregory the Great was of course greatly interested in this work of religious propaganda among the masses. He blamed Bishop Serenus of Marseilles for destroying the paintings in his church (Ep. IX, 105) since these tell the story of Christ which the common people, who cannot decipher books, will thus be able to read.

He despises, so he says, secular learning and when bishops like Desiderius of Vienne go so far as to teach grammar (the arts), he very plainly brings to his attention the incongruity of such a teaching in a bishop (XI, 54). But it has often been noticed that his own culture and temperament belie these popular tendencies which the sense of his own mission and the spirit of his own time have put into him, but which are more or less in contradiction with the more aristocratic nature of Italy.

Also, while the reading of the lives of the saints to the people in church was a common exercise in Gaul, Rome did not approve of the practice for her own use: "In sancta Romana ecclesia non leguntur quia et eorum qui conscripsisse nomina penitus ignorantur et ab infidelibus et idiotis superflua aut minus apta quam rei ordo fuerit scripta esse..) This decree is one of the so-called Gelasian decrees. Mabillon (De cursu Gallic, Migne 72, 385) attributed it to Pope Gelasius himself (492—495) but V. Dobschütz (Decret. Gelas. in Altchristl. Lit. 3, F, pp. 33 ff.) is of the opinion that it is not anterior to the VIth century, for Isidorus Hisp. is the first to know of its existence. The oldest manuscript is of the VIIIth century and originated in the school of Corbie (ca. 711). It is therefore in every way contemporaneous with the development of the genre and marks reaction of aristocratic Italy against these popular compositions. It is just like Rome through all this period, as we pointed out above. The pope does not prohibit it because of the feeling for the masses which characterizes the period, but he does not adopt it because the spirit of these writings runs against the aristocratic tendency of Rome. The reason why it is not adopted by Rome must not deceive us. It is because those lives are badly written by men like Gregory of Tours, by men of the people for the people. It is more due to their language than to what they relate. *Idiotis* already means to them what it will mean in France when the Carolingian renaissance will have created an intellectual aristocracy: "men who speak Latin their own language, badly, according to the definition of the Reichenau glossary" Idiote qui proprietate lingue et naturali scientiae (carent) (K. Hetzer, VII, Bh. Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil. 43 [1906], p. 12). As for the word *infidelibus*, we do not believe that many *infideles* wrote these lives. Arianism was on the wane and pagans did not bother about them. In regard to the subject matter, the miracles of the saints, they were part of Christianity. Even an intellectual pope like Gregory is in this respect a man of his time and believes in them and relates them with as much faith as a Gregory of Tours (Ep. IV, 30). But what is more, he will have as much trust in what we could call superstitions as the common people of Gaul or Spain, for as J. J. Rousseau observes somewhere, the difference between educated and uneducated in any period in the same

society, is very small and bears only on secondary, or specialized, or purely intellectual matters. Thus Gregory the Great sends amulettes to the Patricius Asclepiodote "clavim vero a sacratissimo Petri corpore in qua de catenis ejus benedictio continetur transmisimus quae collo vestro suspensa contra omnia adversa vos muniat" (Ep. XI, 14, Migne 72), "Excellentissimo autem filio nostro Adulouvaldo regi transmittere phylacteria curavimus, id est crucem cum ligno sanctae crucis Domini et lectionem sancti Evangelii theca Persica inclusam (XIV, 12).

These very superstitions which pagans used and peasants continued to use all through this period, and probably much later are common belief to high and low alike. But the form differs. If Eligius in Gaul prohibits them a little later it is because the peasants are only too well inclined to such practices which savor much of paganism. Indeed under Constantius in the IVth century it had been repressed or punished, "nam si qui remedia quartanae vel doloris alterius collo gestaret ... reus capitis interibat" tells us Ammian. Marcel. (XIX, XII, 14), and Isidorus blames it (VIII, IX, 30, Migne 72). But a Gregory the Great could afford to ignore that peasants had precisely this custom which Eligius prohibits "nullus ad colla vel hominis vel ... animalis ligamina dependere praesumat etiamsi a clericis fiant et si dicatur quod res sancta sit et lectiones divinas conteneat (Migne 87, 527). In his own cultured world such customs were not indulged in. He could therefore introduce them as something new and profitable. In the case of the Acta Sanctorum, therefore, it is evidently the language, the sermo rusticus, that proved, perhaps unconsciously, most objectionable to the Roman élite.

So when these unifying movements of the invasions and Christianization of Romania had completed their course, by the end of the VIIIth century, the main inducement which the Italian élite, the clerical element at least, had had in serving the masses, ceased.

Whenever and wherever an élite is numerous and powerful enough, it will naturally tend to isolate itself, to keep aloof of the vulgar, to ignore the latter. If it is inspired by a powerful ideal, it may work it out to such an effect that it will bring the masses more and more under its control and cazry them along with it.

Cases to the point would be numerous enough. The Jews of the first century of the Christian era, scattered in small groups over the Empire succeeded in imposing their spiritual, ideological and monotheistic religion under the form of primitive Christianity against all apparent odds. The small detachment of the classically inclined in France in the latter part of the XVIth and early XVIIth centuries succeeded also in carrying out the classical ideal in all branches of human thought and even human institutions not only in France but through France into a good part of the world.

The Italian élite was not yet so possessed of an ideal that it could at once aspire to the high destinies which were in store for it, but it immediately went to work and organized itself and the country in general, socially and linguistically, for language is but the expression of the group. This reorganization of Italy was essentially aristocratic: "Il movimento e iniziato non dalla borghesia, ma dalla minora aristocrazia in lotta con la maggiore" says G. Volpe (in Torre, op. cit. p. 88). The aristocratic spirit of Italy was not essentially clerical. On the contrary, it was fostered by the presence of a lay, intellectual and social élite which had not been completely estranged from the tradition of Roman culture, and had thus kept out of the complete spritual revolution which took place among the people of Romania.

The existence in Italy of a lay aristocracy, not simply of a clergy, possessed of a higher culture seems to be fairly well established. It was Giesebrecht's theory (de litter. stud. apud Ital. prim. med. aev. saec., Berlin, 1845) which made a great impression at the time, notably on Renan. Burchardt (Die Kultur d. Renaiss. in Ital., p. 179) supported it and Gaspary (op. cit. p. 22) is of the same opinion: "was ferner noch den damaligen Zustand Italiens von dem des übrigen Okzident unterschied, war eine gröfsere Verbreitung der Bildung, an welcher nicht blofs der Klerus, sondern auch in gewissem Mafse der Laienstand partizipierte."

It was this class, evidently, which had kept alive the light of luminous institutions as Bertoni (Il Duecento, p. 1) says, v. g. the Roman law and the tradition of municipal ordinances. Comparetti (Virgilio nel medio evo [2], Firenze, 1896, p. 253) denies it under the pretext that the clergy practically alone in the early centuries (before the XIIIth) was productive of literary works. But the argument might be countered by pointing out that the clergy as a class, since the IVth century and the triumph of Christianity, was bound to supply most literary men, educators and philosophers, in the same way as the monasteries must have become centers of most of the intellectual work done in those centuries. Clergy and monasteries were simply social forms assumed by the culture of the time. Yet in Italy there were lay school masters in the XIth century, and there had always been centers of culture outside the monasteries. In the VIIIth, Paulus Diaconus was an ornament of the court of Didier in Pavia and of that of Anchis, duke of Benevent. He was also a pupil of the philosopher Drogo.

As a matter of fact, in all periods literators and educators are bound to come from or form a class. The question is therefore less whether the actual literary or scientific artisans belong to this or that class, but of what class or category of people they are the spokesmen, from whom they receive their inspiration, whom they

aim at pleasing or interesting. It seems fairly well established that but for some conspicuous exceptions, the Latin literature of Italy from the time of Ennodius who, although bishop of Pavia and composer of hymns, wrote all manners of pagan poetry, including some about Venus and Amor, is due to an inspiration, in great part both lay and aristocratic. This had partly been the case in the south of France, especially, in the Vth century, but things had changed rapidly. When in the next century, Fortunatus came from Italy to Gaul as a sort of abbé de cour, he gradually fell into line with the Gallican clergy, and as bishop of Poitiers, was not much distinguished from a Gregory of Tours, except that his language, although made more and more simple, never was as incorrect as that of the latter.

Although the schools founded under the influence of Charlemagne were soon confined in Italy, as well as elsewhere, to future members of the clergy, the teaching of the arts continued uninterruptedly, always characterized by the reading and commenting of the classical authors, not as in Western Europe as a means to the understanding of the scripture and the fathers, but for their own sake. So that the real mediaeval study of Western Europe, theology, never got a strong foothold in Italy, with but a few shining exceptions in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries. Italy in fact had that reputation with the other nations. R. Glaber (ca. 1000, Hist. lib. II, 12) speaks of a certain Vilgardus of Ravenna who having devoted the whole of his life to "grammar" and having neglected everything else, would see devils under the form of Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal. Rumors of a similar nature were numerous enough about Italians.

Although Charlemagne's reform had been inspired by purely religious motives, it had in Italy different effects from those it had in France. It started in Italy, says Comparetti (op. cit. p. 247) "tutta un' attività psicologica che pareva spenta del risuscitare di tanti sentimenti assopiti e ricominciare un moto di vita potente e frutifero che passo conduce fino a Dante, a Michelangelo, a Galileo". It is very clear that this was due to the presence of a powerful lay aristocracy which had not been totally severed from the Roman past through Christianization. Comparetti himself admits "c' è presso i laici italiani un desiderio evidente d' iniziarsi alla cultura classica". This can only refer to an aristocracy, to an élite, and not to the masses. When Comparetti says: "Uno dei caratteri per quali il popolo italiano, anche nel medio evo, dà segno della sua superiorità storica e cívile dinnanzi agli altri popoli d' Europa, è l' essere esso quello che fra tutti gli altri più scarseggia di produzione fantastica" (op. cit. T. 2, p. 16), it is again evident that this also applies to the lay élite which existed in Italy as nowhere else. The masses were just as ready in Italy

as in the rest of Europe to let themselves be carried away by their propensity to see nature through the prism of the supernatural. Only, in France, for instance, the absence of a lay intellectual élite gave a free field to this conception and allowed it to become potent for literary production, because high and low were thus wrapped up in the same enthusiasm and ideas.

In Italy on the other hand, the difference of mentality between the élite and the masses never allowed the "romantic" conception of life to get above mean and low superstition. But of this the Italians were just as productive as the other nations. It is a fact of common knowledge. Historians have often commented on it at all periods, but especially in the highest and most enlightened, viz.: L. von Ranke: "Während das gemeine Volk in einen fast heidnischen Aberglauben verfiel, . . . wandten sich die höheren Stände zu einer antireligiösen Richtung ab" (Röm. Päpste, I, 2, p. 48, ca. 1500).

What the Italian populace did with Virgil making him a sorcerer and a miracle man is another proof of the same fact. Comparetti indirectly admits: "L'idea di Virgilio taumaturgo e mago è di origine del tutto popolare benchè accettata poi nella letteratura per gli elementi affini. La paternità di quell'idea aspetta a un volgo italiano."

There were therefore, in his own view, two classes of lay Italians: an intellectual élite and the masses. One required a certain kind of literature of a classical nature. The others, despised and separated from their natural leaders, lived an obscure and inarticulate life. This aristocracy was cradled in the glorious memories of Imperial Rome and Latin. This feeling was so strong there, that at the very beginning of the invasions, the Barbarians themselves were affected by it. Orosius tells us that Ataulf said to one of his followere: "esset ut vulgariter loquar, Gothia quod Romania fuisset, et fieret nunc Athaulfus quod quondam Caear Augustus (Hist. VII, 43); and the life of a Theoderic received most of his inspiration from that consciousness. The story told at length by Paulus Diaconus (Migne 75, 56) about Pope Gregory the Great † 604 passing "per forum Trajani quod opere mirifico constat" and contemplating the bas-relief representing the emperor and the widow, and the deep emotion it caused to the pope, is full of the prestige of Imperial Rome. Even the Lombard courts of the VIIIth century with their remarkable culture, Pavia, Milan, Benevento, Salerno, encouraging philosophers like Drogo, grammarians like Felix, historians like Paulus Diaconus, kept this spirit alive.

While in France the reform of Charlemagne resulted in the acknowledgment of the existence of a new popular language, of the lingua romana rustica, that is to say, in the recognition of the

fact that for the people at large in France, there was a complete break between Latinity and Romance, in Italy this same reform resulted in vivifying the ties that still united the present with the past: it made the Italian élite, but the élite alone, feel Latin, threw it back towards Latin, made it despise the vulgar tongue which had been elaborated in common with the rest of Western Romania. The reform of Charlemagne galvanized that spirit, made the greatness of Imperial Rome, Italy, more vivid, more real to this class and linguistically, drove the élite back to Latin as the language of the Empire. The rise of Latin to the dignity of official language of the Church of Rome which took place in the IXth century, is certainly due in great part to this new consciousness of the aristocratic spirit that we are considering. The first document that shows Latin thus raised to this position is a letter addressed by Pope Joannes VIII (879) to Methodias, Archbishop of Pannonia, in which he blames him for chanting mass in Slavic whereas only two languages are to be used in that function: Audimus etiam quod missas cantes in barbara, hoc est in Sclavina lingua; unde jam litteris nostris per Paulum episcopum Anconitanum tibi directis prohibuimus ne in ea lingua sacra missarum solemnia celebrares sed vel in Latina vel in Graeca lingua, sicut Ecclesia Dei toto terrarum orbe diffusa et in omnibus gentibus dilatata cantat (Migne 126, 850).

In this passage, the pope, to my mind, shows the new aristocratic spirit of Italy, rather than the old catholic spirit of Gregory the Great. He is less preoccupied with the religious welfare of the Slavic population than with the preservation of a Roman privilege. It is less the pope who is speaking than the Italian. Mass cannot be sung in any other language than Greek or Latin because all other languages are barbarous. That is the old aristocratic conception of the world composed of two classes: the Greeks and the Barbarians. It is also significant that it is not until this period that the Romans fall in clearly and deliberately into that distinction from a purely cultural point of view. Quite an evolution since Plautus explained that he had translated Greek comedies into Barbarian (Latin) language! This distinction will become quite aggressive in the XVIth century.

The contrast is indeed striking between this attitude and that prevalent as late as the previous century: then Pope Zacharias had restrained the ultramontane Boniface from attaching so much importance to language: "Retulerunt quippe quod fuerit in eadem provincia (Bavaria) sacerdos qui Latinam linguam penitus ignorabat et dum baptizaret nesciens Latini eloquii, infringens linguam diceret: Baptizo te in nomine Patria et Filia et Spiritu sancta; ac per hoc tua reverenda fraternitas consideravit rebapti-

zare, sed sanctissime frater, si ille qui baptizavit non errorem introducens aut haeresim sed per sola ignorantia Romanae locutionis infringendo linguam.. (Migne 89, 929).

One feels that Zacharias, preoccupied with the spiritual welfare of the people looks on the linguistic question as something secondary. For Pope Joannes VIII in the IXth century, it is of paramount importance. The Byzantine Greeks of the same period were quite different and less attached to the special prerogative of Greek. Is it any wonder that the Roman popes lost their influence over the Slavs and that the latter fell under the sway of the Byzantine Church? The democratic impulse that Christianization had been, did not survive the early Carolingian period in Italy. The most prominent Italian, the Pope, must already have felt the pride of the Latin name which will run through the whole history of Italy and serve as a powerful lever to steer the Italian spirit out of chaos. Yet at different periods the popes, under strong external pressure, will ally themselves with the masses and the democratic elements, as they did for instance in the XIth century when they wanted to shake off the imperial yoke, (Volpe, Movimenti, p. 221), but this could not but be exceptional. In general the masses found themselves not only voiceless but without any feeling of sympathy with the élite. They naturally shared more in the mediaeval religious spirit which was that of the age. At times they aspired to an expression and that would naturally take a revolutionary form, like the rising of the new heresies: the Patari, for instance. "Fu un gran moto religioso e politico sociale," says G. Volpe (Movimenti religiosi e sette ereticali nella società medievala italiana, Firenze, 1922, p. 2), "in cui si trovaron di fronte: una aristocrizia laica ed ecclesiastica insieme, mescolanza di persone, di attivita, di attributi diversi, cementata dai rapporti della parentela, della classe, della communanza di interessi, della solidarietà; ed una grande massa di popolo, di basso clero, di ordini religiosi minori." The protest of the masses against this aristocratic situation produced later such movements as the Valdesi, Umiliati, Francescani. But these democratic risings were too far out of keeping with the spirit of Italy to be successful in the long run. Soon new elements of an aristocratic character entered into these heresies and in the course of the XIIIth century, the sects died an almost natural death. (cf. Volpe, op. cit. pp. 48, 97, 269).

This essential difference between the evolution of Italy and France after the IXth century is exemplified in the most significant developments, even those which bear the same name, for instance, the communes. While the communes in France are essentially of popular origin, the Italian communi are the work of the minor aristocracy which flocked to the towns where life was more attrac-

tive for many reasons and organized the communities (G. Volpe, in Torre, op. cit. p. 90).

But this aristocratic pressure and preeminence could not forever completely exclude the masses from all share in the making of the spiritual consciousness of the nation. Especially in the bringing up of children, will the spirit and the language (linguam quam sine regula nutricem imitantes accipimus, Dante, Vulg. Eloq. 1) of the lower classes act directly or indirectly on the higher. A system like the one used by Montaigne's father to protect the child completely, is bound to be, in the nature of things, so exceptional as to play no part whatever in the social evolution. And the effect is all the deeper and more irresistible because it is produced in the tenderest and most plastic years of a man's life. So, progressively, but at least one hundred and fifty years after notice of the same fact had been taken in France, the vulgar tongue is mentioned in Italy. And, by the way, nothing is more remarkable than this fact and more illustrative of the relatively recent and slow extension of the linguistic phenomena creative of Romance. Had Romance, a language quite different from the language written during the Merovingian period, without declensions or synthetic passive, with the article, compound demonstrative and new conjugations etc. existed as early as the VIth century, how absolutely mysterious this silence concerning it, a silence of four hundred years in Italy! And why should this silence have been broken then?

Diez (Gramm., 1877, T. 1, p. 71) cites the passage of a letter by the Italian Gozzone called to Germany in 960 by Otto I in which he says: "licet aliquando retarder usu nostrae vulgaris linguae." Muratori (op. cit.) quotes the epitath of Gregory V, 999: "Usu francisca, vulgari et voce latina Instituit populos eloquio triplici." He seems to be the first pope to receive the praise of having taught the people in the vulgar tongue. In France it had been frequent enough as early as the first half of the IXth century, for instance of St. Adelard of Corbie (Act. SS. Bol. Jan. II, c. VIII), and, although erroneously, of St. Germain of Paris (Du Cange Pref.). But that pope was not an Italian, he was a German and thus trained to preach to the people. Even as late as 1189 mention is still made of the use of the vulgar tongue in preaching when it occurs: "Cum praedictus Patriarcha litteraliter (latin) sapienter praedicasset et (pro eo) praedictus Gherardus Paduanus Episcopus maternaliter eius praedicationem explanasset et populum ibi stantem amonuisset" (Muratori op. loc. cit.).

Latin, the cultural language of Italy, the language of the élite was so much alive in the early Middle Ages that it well nigh suppressed all testimony as to the existence of a common language among the people: there is none in the IXth, and six in all in the

Xth, XIth and first half of the XIIth century (Gaspary, op. cit. p. 218). We even have two Latin soldiers' songs, one ca. 871, the other 924, in rhythmical verse, as though nothing had changed linguistically since the VIIIth century, and this while the soldiers in France had to be officially addressed in Romance. It is true that some scholars do not believe that these songs were actually sung by soldiers (Storia letteraria d'Italia . . . Francesco Novati, Milano T. I, p. 156). Yet this doubt seems hardly justified. If there was any poetry written and sung at that period, it cannot have been in any other language. The same historians admit the vitality of Latin in Italy (op. cit. p. 38 ff.). But what does this mean except that it was actually used and especially in poetry. The use of the rhythmical verse also points to the practical intention of the poet. Otto v. Freisingen in the XIIth century (MGH, XX, de reb. Frid. II, 13) was struck by the fact which he expresses thus: "filios (Romagna) ex materno sanguine ac terrae aerisve proprietate aliquid mansuetudinis et sagacitatis trahentes, genuerunt, Latini sermonis elegantiam morumque retinent urbanitatem."

This conscious return to Latinity had the manifest result that it stopped the evolution of the vulgar tongue, and set a late Latin phonetic model (quantity could not of course be restored) for the various dialects as Dante saw very clearly and which must be apparent to every one. If the Italian volgare remained nearer to Latin as Comparetti (op. cit. p. 253) says, it was not due to the property of the air or the maternal blood, but to the consciousness of its own Latin descent which the already formed élite received from Charles' circular letted of 787, and to a decided and deliberate return to Latin and Latin forms as a consequence. This meant hard work at school on the part of the children as Wippo in his panegyric of Henry III in the XIth century had seen and expressed rather picturesquely: Hoc servant Itali post prima crepundia cuncti Et sudare scholis mandatur tota iuventus (ap. Gaspary, p. 22). Such a youth thus formed would at first despise the volgare because, as a remark written in the codice senese of the Fior di virtù (Comparetti, T. I, p. 257) expresses it "le cose spirituali, oltre non si possono si propriamente esprimere per paravole volgari come si sprimono per latino e per grammatica, per la penuria dei vocaboli volgari . .," but having to use the volgare, he would naturally reform it when possible, on the model of his avowed ideal (Bertoni, Il Duecento 1910, p. 140).

At the time of the Councils of 813, when Charlemagne had to admit for France the necessity of preaching in the churches in the lingua romana rustica, because the common people did not understand sufficiently the correct Latin which had been restored, there were in Italy, in Rome, a great number of people under-

standing ecclesiastical Latin with its synthetic passive, its case endings, its less syncopated words. In the words of Gregorovius already quoted: "Neither is there any indication that the Romans had the sermons of their priests or the documents of notaries translated from Latin into the vulgar tongue as the case was in Gaul" after 813 (op. cit. p. 415). And yet the language of the notaries indicates that the Italian lower classes had transformed their language precisely along the lines of the lingua romana of their western neighbours and must therefore have been just as unable as those were to apprehend clearly the more correct speech. But the presence of a powerful élite prevented their language from being recognized and their more or less helpless situation from being even considered.

The councils of 813 which acknowledged the separate existence of the Romana lingua rustica, when known in Rome and the other Italian centers of culture must have had the effect of confirming the élite in their sense of superiority over the less cultivated Franks. Latin became the language of Rome, of Italy of the Church. As was said above, we must not see in Pope Joannes' order a simple ecclesiastical prescription. It is the expression of a fact. The élite in Italy is numerous enough to make the existence of a living mediaeval Latin a reality. What is only true (after Charles the Bald) of the clergy in France is true of the élite in general in Italy. They may well ignore the language of the others. They do not even give it a name. The name lingua romana is applied to the common language (jargon?) of the French. But the language of the Italians is Latin and the incorrect (in reality Romance) language of the ignorant does not need a name: it is but ungrammatical.

Five centuries later Dante will not call the volgare by any other name, although the importance and dignity of the illustrious kind is of course duly emphasized. For him both are Latin, one the grammatical (Latin proper), the other the ungrammatical (Italian) "quam sine omni regula nutricem imitantes accipimus. Est et inde alia locutio secundaria nobis quam Romani grammaticam vocaverunt" (Vulg. Elog. 1, 1). It is seen here that Latin proper is put into the secondary position. Down to the XIIth century, it was in the first, but the continuous and relentless influence of the nutrix has finally broken into that of the magister.

We can imagine what were the sentiments of Pope Nicholas I (860) when Emperor Michel of Constantinople in a letter addressed to him, called "Romanam seu latinam linguam scyticam seu barbaram". The pope answered sharply in defense of his language which he called only Latin. For him the romana lingua was but the barbarous language of the Franks, it had nothing to do with the language of Italy which was Latin, even if one of the reasons

he gives is not humanistic, and that is that Latin shared with Greek the "insignem principatum in titulo Domini" on the cross (cf. Traube, Einl., p. 43).

This is the reason why no literature in the language of the people is to be found in Italy before the end of the XIIth century, although France, by that time, had already a very rich one: a question which has interested the historians of Italian literature from the time of A. Bartoli (1877) (cf. Stor. lett.... F. Novati, p. 33) and which is only partly answered by the statement that the culture of Italy remained essentially Latin during those centuries. The language and consequently the soul of the common people were, as far as possible, ignored and, through this, made to a certain extent, inexistent. Only an élite, very likely limited in point of numbers, but powerful and covering Italy with a network of Latin speaking and writing groups were articulate. The literature and inspirations of such more or less unrepresentative minorities cannot attain real greatness, but if their influence is strong enough, they very effectively silence the mass disorganized and without its natural leaders. The evolution of the popular language of Italy was thus checked, diphtongization and syncopation became null or erratic in the various dialects, due to the intellectual, spiritual and social inferiority of those who used them, while in France, the consciousness of evergrowing power gave to the speakers of the popular language, especially in the North, the self assurance and momentum in expressing themselves required for the forceful evolution of the phonetics of an important language.

But the Latin linguistic unity of the cultured class in Italy was, through these early centuries, the real cement that bound together the various parts of Italy into one country in spite of their deep political separations. And here is another evidence of the contrast that we have found between France and Italy. Both French and Italian histories are remarkable by the high nationalistic strain that runs through them; in France however, this spirit is purer and stronger in the French masses; it inspires the chanson de geste rather than the refined literature of a Chrestien of Troyes; the history of the Hundred Years war showed where its burning heart was, and so did the French Revolution. In Italy, it was always the sentiment of the élite. Its first language was Latin; its first exponent a scholar. Gonzone in the Xth century, gives perhaps the first clear expression of it; he has a "tenace e per quel tempo rileventissimo senso nazionale. Egli si sa italiano e se ne gloria" (Novati, op. cit. T. 1, p. 223), leading the way for Dante, Machiavelli and the glorious line of great Italians whose tireless faith and longing was to finally achieve the rebirth of their country.

This use of Latin was, of course, very different from the use of Latin in the universities and among the clergy of Europe where it was, so to speak, the sacred hieratic language of a priestly order made to express esoteric ideas. In Italy, it was the living language of the élite, very much like the classical French of the XVIIth century. As such it exercised through the IXth, Xth, XIth, and XIIth centuries the influence of a more refined living tongue of the leading classes over the inferior jargons of the masses: a sort of ideal, of unattainable model, but effectively causing its harmony, its phonetic system, its rhythm to charm and direct their evolution.

And as late as the XVIth century, Castiglione (op. cit. p. 51) will give the same advice as is implied in Dante's statement (without referring to Dante who according to Burckhardt is not named in the whole book), so much in keeping it is with the spirit of the Italian language: "Pero io lauderai, che l'uomo oltre al fuggir molte parole antiche Toscane, s'assicurasse ancor d'usare e scrivendo e parlando quelle che oggidi sono in consuetudine in Toscana, e negli altri luoghi della Italia, e che hanno qualche grazia nella pronunzia", and p. 61 "ne vorrei che temesse formarne ancor di nuove e con nuove figure di dire, deducendole con bel modo dai Latini come già i Latini le deducevano dai Greci . . . ella (lingua) non fosse pura Toscana antica, sarebbe Italiana comune, copiosa e varia e quasi come un delizioso giardino pien di diversi fiori e frutti". The last sentence is significant: it expresses this almost sensual feeling for the plastic beauty of words.

These vulgar dialects (vulgaria) which even the élite received from their nurses, according to Dante's expression, were thus checked in part directly in their development, but especially, this élite thus compelled by the very nature of things to use the vulgare, created one nearer to their ideal, which was really "Romance" in its forms but answered their inward sense of rhythm and harmony. A "vulgare illustre" was thus formed which exercised a profound influence on all the various dialects which in their turn exercised the same sort of control over their innumerable divisions.

This action of Latin did not stop with the advent of the volgare as a literary language. Bertoni (op. cit. p. 247) has expressed this influence in the XIIIth century in the following terms: "È chiaro che lateneggiando i vari succedani del vocabolo latino, ci si avvicina alla sorgente unica donde si partono i diversi rivoli e si ottengono forme tanto più somiglianti fra loro, quanto più lateneggiate. Ora, il latino era più sempre la grande lingua letteraria per eccelenza, la lingua che is nostri poeti e scrittori del duecento avevano imparata alla scuola dei 'doctores puerorum' sui dalla loro giovane età e alla quale amavano ricondurre quando potevano la parola volgare. Per tal modo venivano a cadere molte caratterestiche dialettali".

It is clear that this Latinizing movement started deliberately with Charlemagne's reform and extended through these first centuries.

The influence of Latin over the evolution of the dialects was succeeded by the influence of the "volgare illustre", itself the nearest to Latin and constantly in contact with it. This volgare thus created could indeed be similar in the various regions of Italy, which fact Dante notices, although he makes the share of Toscan too small. "Hoc enim usi sunt doctores illustres qui lingua vulgari poetati sunt in Ytalia, ut Siculi, Apuli, Tusci, Romandioli, Lombardi, et utriusque marchie viri" (Vulg. elo. 1, 19) "dicimus illustre, cardinale, aulicum et curiale vulgare in Latio, quod omnis latie civitatis est et nullius esse videtur et quo municipalia vulgaria omnia Latinorum mensurantur et ponderantur" (1, 16).

This growing importance of the vulgare or vulgaria was however a direct consequence of that of the non-Latin speaking masses, of their natural progress, spiritual and intellectual, of their greater culture fostered by the contact, as early as the XIth century, with the heroic pilgrims of France speaking Romance (akin to the vulgaria) with their heads and hearts full of the sublime legends of Charlemagne and his peers. These legends must have gone straight to the hearts of the masses, as the story of the recital of a chanson de geste given by a poor minstrel to an Italian populace which Lovato de Lovatis describes in the passage quoted above (Chapter VI) proves quite conclusively. The very fact that Dante in the celebrated passage of the Vulg. Eloq. in which he enumerates the kinds of literary productions which have made the language of *oïl* famous "videlicet biblia cum Troianorum Romanorumque gestibus compilate ef Arturi regis ambages pulcerrime et quam plures alie ystorie ac doctrine" does not mention the chanson de geste proper also confirms our surmise.

But if the chanson de geste did not at once conquer the Italian élite, the other romans, Arthur and antiquity, did, and must have inspired it with a higher regard for its own volgare, were it but out of the natural feeling of emulation with foreign achievement, which is so potent in purely literary movements.

But this was not to bring about a rich poetic production in the vulgar tongue until something ressembling what had taken place in France in the XIth century, had come to realization in Italy, a spiritual revival, a powerful, deep religious feeling breaking all class barriers and the ice of aristocratic affectation and prejudice and making a genuine Italian group commune in divine love and devotion in the XIIIth century. As Volpe (Movimenti, p. 35) expresses it: "Il sentimento dei fedeli che è più vivo e profondo, cerca anche un più immediata e propria espressione; si estrinseca nelle forme della lingua materna che è più lucido specchio

dell'anima. Si senti, direi quasi, volgarmente, e volgarmente, si dà espressione al sentimento."

Yet, the near relationship to Latin of this volgare, acquired and maintained as we have shown above, was the reason why it was given the preference by Dante over the languages of *oïl* and *oc* in spite of the latter's magnificent achievement in the domain of literature: "quod rationabiliter inspicientibus videtur gravissimum argumentum, quia magis videtur inniti gramatice (Latin) que communis est" (10).

What according to Meyer-Lübke, the upper classes did in Gaul (Why not in the Roman Empire in general?) in the IVth century, in preventing diphthongizing (Hauptfrage d. Roma., p. 140), the Italian élite did after the IXth century, with as much efficiency in putting a stop to syncopating and diphthongizing in Italy, which as the study of Italian dialects shows, would have gone on rapidly as it did in France, but for this constant opposition. That is what Dante has reference to, although his expression is perhaps philologically incorrect, when he shows the growth of that vulgare illustre "cum de tot rudibus Latinorum vocabulis, de tot perplexis constructionibus, de tot defectivis prolationibus, de tot rusticanis accentibus, tam egregium tam extricatum, tam perfectum et tam urbanum videamus electum" (1, 17).

It is clear that this constant action of Latin on the volgare was essentially directed to the form of the individual word and what one might call the exterior aspect of the language. It tended first to maintain in or to restore the words already mutilated to, their full size Latin shape. It was quite different from that exercised in French by the clergy keeping alive morphological parts in the declension and conjugation in order to make possible a fluent translation from Latin to Romance. In Italy, the morphological elements, especially the two-case declension, already tending towards the on-case system by the end of the VIIIth century, were allowed to disintegrate more and more, since the volgare was not used for a long time for any cultural, intellectual and spiritual purposes. The action of Latin on the volgare was phonetic, esthetic. Assuredly, the whole language could not thus be brought back to purely Latin phonology. Some of the syncopation was so old, and so deeply rooted in the rhythm of the speech that it was preserved, v. g. all the Vulgar Latin syncopation; some of the diphthongizing like *e* = *ie*, *o* = *uo*, had also very deep roots; but further changes like *a* = *e* (*kanter* = *cantare*, Arezzo, Meyer-Lübke, Gram. 255, 273 etc.), bontè (Vicenza, Vulg. Eloq. 14); the dropping of endings like *nof* = *novem*, *vif* = *vivo* (Treviso, Vulg. Eloq. 14, quod quidem barbarissimum reprobamus) got under way too late and implied such a violent change of rhythm that these developments remained local and without effect on the common language.

This restoration of the Latin form of the words brought back into life the dactylic rhythm which Vulgar Latin had been discarding more and more. And by a curious coincidence which may show that this movement was not unduly artificial but worked along natural lines, Italian reproduced then a rhythmic tendency which characterized Latin fifteen hundred years before, although pitch and not stress may have been the principal elements at this early period. Out of *biasmo, spasmo,* Italian made *spasimo, biasimo,* in the same way as out of Etruscan *Tanchwil,* Latin had made *Tanaquil* (Livy 1, 34) etc.

The consciousness of this beautiful Italian to be realized and illustrated by the great poets of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries in Italy, implied the sense of its individuality from the purely Latin forms. Dante will despise the stricter adherence of the Sardianians to an external resemblance with Latin "Sardos etiam, qui non Latii sunt, sea Latiis associandi videntur eiciamus, quoniam soli sine proprio vulgari esse videntur, gramaticam (= Latin) tanquam simie homines imitantes nam domus mea et dominus meus locuntur".

Dante here distinguishes between the new Italian volgare rebuilt and selected according to Latin inspiration, from the servile adherence to Latin (lack of original development, spiritual and linguistic stagnation) which characterizes Sardinian. Dante's comparison of this feature of Sardinian with monkeys imitating men is more than a sally. It is a deep remark: it characterizes the vegetative state of a language which because of the isolated and dormant life of the people who speak it, remains strangely tenacious of the most obsolete features.

The growth of the esthetic spirit mostly concerned the phonology of the language: it was aimed at realizing a harmony of a new sort, although inspired in part by Latin as it was pronounced in the IXth century and the sense of the greatness of Imperial Rome which was reviving then after the definite separation from the Byzantine Empire at the same date. This growing pride brought about, on the one hand, the creation of Italian as a literary and artistic tongue, and on the other, the humanistic spirit glorifying itself in an elegant Latin modeled after that of the great Romans, Cicero, Caesar, Horace, Virgil.

Chapter XVII.

The situation in Spain.

A similar, although by no means identical and not so easily defined situation prevailed in Spain. It is likewise not so well known. Yet it is manifestly based on a society whose spiritual constitution is aristocratic.

Dozy in his Histoire des Musulmans, T. 2, p. 25 ff., has shown how in the Visigothic period, the bishops of Spain had done nothing for the serves or the middle class, that is to say for the masses, and how the invasions of the Saracens had been a boon to the latter, at least, from a certain point of view. None of the great ecclesiastical writers of that period in Spain shows that preoccupation for the people which characterizes the Gallic bishops from Martin of Tours to Caesarius of Arles, Gregory of Tours, Eligius of Soissons and Alcuin of Tours. Consider the long list of prelates of the Iberian peninsula during that period (Gams, T. 2, p. 57 ff.), and see that among their works are not mentioned homilies or sermons with a popular import. They were very distinguished in their profession, and far above the common people, much more distinguished, even than the higher clergy of Italy against whose ignorance of theology Popes and councils of all this period inveigh loudly (cf. A. Graf, Roma nel. memor. ... Torino, 1882—3, pp. 48 ff.). After Isidorus Hisp., Spain had had great theologians all through the VIIth century: Ildefonsus, Eugenius and Julianus, archbishops of Toledo (Hefelé, Hist. d. Conciles, Trad. franç. D. Leclercq, T. 3—2, p. 1031) of whom the bishops of Francia had never heard. Bishop Hefelé wonders at this ignorance of the French bishops! Through the VIIIth century men like Elipand of Toledo and Felix of Urgel continued in their footsteps as far as culture was concerned although their orthodoxy was questioned more than once. But, as we have already seen, their direct interest in the common people was secondary; there was enough of a lay élite to form a class and give the higher clergy the sense that they were doing their social duty.

The history of the City of Cordova better know than any other is perhaps representative of what must have taken place in other localities. We find that the rich and more cultured Christians were

quickly enough reconciled with Arabic domination to the extent of practically discarding Latin literature and of finding beauty only in Arabic works; on the other hand the priests and monks whom the Mussulman populace jeered at and insulted became indomitable in their hatred of the conquerors. Shutting themselves up most of the time in their houses, reading exclusively certain portions of the Bible, their fanaticism knew no bounds. They stirred a spirit of revolt and defiance among the masses that finally, in 850, broke out so openly that the reprisals were bloody and there began an era of martyrdom in which a certain number of people sacrificed their lives. It is a curious and ironical condition of human nature that this devotion to Christianity was strongest in those for whom the Church had done least, as we have just seen, just as it was the peasants most crushed down by the Ancien Régime (Brittany and Vendée) that stood up for it against the French Revolution, as Victor Hugo has so characteristically brought out in "Quatre-Vingt-Treize". The Mahomedan authorities thought it best to call on the higher clergy to convoke a council to put an end to this disorder (Dozy, op. loc. cit., p. 65 ff.; Hefelé, op. cit., T. 3—2, p, 1040; Walsch, Ketzergesch., T. 9, p. 754; Gams, op. cit., T. 2—3, p. 299).

The influence of the lower clergy was evidently paramount, but the higher clergy was, of course, out of sympathy with all this exaltation. The bishops would even help the Mussulmans in establishing their lists of taxable Christians, having recourse to deplorable ruses to do so (E. Cauvet, Et. Hist. . . . Montpellier, 1898, p. 9 ff.; Menéndez y Pelayo, Hist. d. l. heterod. esp., Madrid, 1911—18, T. 2, c. 2; Menéndez Pidal, Flores. d. leyend. her. esp., Madrid, 1925, T. 1, pp. 1—121).

In the narrow strip of land never conquered by the Moors, the situation was certainly analogous, in the sense that the real leadership of the masses, whatever there was, may have been more in the hands of the lower clergy than in those of the bishops. The fact that in the glorious period of the reconquista, XI and XIIth centuries, the influence of Cluny was so great and kings and the Cid himself drew from this order the bishops for the most important seats (M. Pidal, Orígenes 508 ff.) is another piece of evidence to the same effect: a lower clergy unable to supply leadership, a higher clergy inefficient and out of sympathy with these essentially national crusades. Another feature of this aloofness of the higher clergy is to be found in the fact it was not until Fernand I (1032—1072), that the Crucifix and images were introduced into Spanish churches. As Gregory the Great had said to Bishop Serenus of Marseilles, they were the books of those who could not read. This inconoclastic attitude of the Spanish Church was quite anti-democratic and is significant.

It seems evident that during the IXth and Xth centuries, after the breaking up of the Koinê, the situation in Spain was not as clear as it was in France or Italy. The spiritual disorganization that we have noticed in the conquered territories is more or less duplicated in the small parts that remained independent, except Catalonia, which being a Frankish county lived the life of Southern France. Yet early, something equivalent, on a smaller scale, to what was taking place in France in the French masses, must have animated the Spanish people in their independent strongholds of Asturia, while their brothers were suffering martyrdom in Mussulman territory. It can not, however, have been so predominant, so thoroughly blended, controlling so absolutely and more and more the whole nation, and creating one common soul to which all, high and low alike, contributed. On the one hand, the higher clergy must have helped to preserve the existence of a rather cultured society, on the other, the influence of the Arabs' higher civilization, as early as the end of the IXth century strengthened this tendency on the part of the élite to distinguish itself and form a separate world.

This opposition of both influences, vulgar and cultured, in regard to the phonetics of the language is emphasized by Menéndez Pidal, Orig., p. 473, when he says for instance: "En Toledo es de suponer que al lado del diptongo vacilante *uo, ua, ue,* usado por el volgo, los gentes mas cortesanas impusieran muchas formas sin diptongo . . . (cf. p. 120). The cultured forms were maintained both in the west and in the east of the Peninsula.

For the two centuries of the Carolingian period, the learned influence was so predominant that Romance or the popular language which had evolved in common with the rest of Western Romania, did not get recognition. As in Italy, Charlemagne's reform must have served only to increase the self consciousness of the educated, but not in bringing to a head the Romance elements which were ready to form a new language. But among the people who used the written language professionally, lawyers, notaries, doctors, artisans like chemists, fine arts workers, Latin as it had evolved up to that point, was arrested in its development, exactly as in Italy (Bresslau, T. 2, p. 3444 ff.), and for two centuries became fixed in the form it had assumed before becoming Romance, that is to say before the Romance features described in Chapter IX had been generalized and changed the nature of the speech.

The fixity of what Mr. Menéndez Pidal calls the popular Latin of Leon (Orígenes, p. 480 pass.) is a sure proof that it was not leaning on the spoken language but on the written models or formulas elaborated in the VIIth and VIIIth centuries (hardly in the Vth as M. Pidal says p. 480!), that is to say when the Visigoths had sufficiently incorporated the Roman law into their constitution

and habits to bring about a new drafting of legal documents, deeds, laws, etc. embodying all the new elements of social life, including Christianity. Had the Romance features been officially recognized, the survival of this artificial state of Latin would not have taken place, which was the case in France. But in Spain and Italy, Charlemagne's action resulted in bracing up the cultural elements of the country, in reducing the importance of the masses and shutting out their language, in fact, preventing the continuation of its normal evolution along the lines common to all Western Romania until the VIIIth century. Whence, the half educated, unable to master the correct forms adhered tenaciously to their practical models and made the language of such, classical and fixed, like all dead languages made use of in some connection or groups.

But in Spain, unlike what happened in Italy, there was not, a strong, forceful intellectual élite with an ideal ever growing clearer to take charge of the spiritual and linguistic direction, first by appropriating Latin as its language, second by shaping the folk language on the phonetic fulness and rhythm of the Imperial speech. The intellectual élite in Spain was much more desultory, devoid of a spiritual ideal, the direction of the social movement was more in the hands of the lower clergy, of an inferior culture but energetic enough.

After the invasions of the Moors, it kept together the Spanish and Christian elements. We must not imagine on the part of this clergy anything like what was taking place in France at the same time: an anxiety to expound the doctrine, relate the lives of the saints, in other words a constant desire or necessity to keep the mass of the faithful acquainted with all the phases and aspects of their religion; this was, as we have seen, essentially French and this attitude is the principal source of inspiration of French mediaeval art.

We must rather imagine them like the officers of the army of Christ keeping up the courage and spirit of their troups without that democratic preoccupation of teaching them more than what was actually necessary for the service.

In spite of the probability that the linguistic preoccupation must have been far less conspicuous and thorough than in Italy, since the purely esthetic motive was necessarily overshadowed by more practical considerations, yet, on the one hand, such a disturbance in the life of the people must have brought about a natural diminution of the force of the stress accent, considering that the increase had been due to a gradual and uninterrupted ascent of the masses in dignity and importance. The Arabic invasion, far more harmful in this respect than the Visigothic, although not a drawback to the physical well being of the masses reduced them,

even in their own eyes to insignificance socially and spiritually. On the other hand, the clergy must have introduced or kept alive such grammatical and bookish (almost useless?) forms as some of the past tenses, v. g. *haberem, habuero, habueram*; they are very frequent in the Glosas Silenses and Emilianenses (Pidal, Orig. to p. 29), giving them a greater hold in the spoken tongue of the Iberian Peninsula than in the other parts of Romania. These same gloses show also a remarkable adherence of the final *t* in the third person singular of verbs, but there was nothing in the morphology or in the general linguistic value of the final *t* in Spanish particularly appropriate, in view of the preservation of the final vowels, and the *t* did not enter the documentary period. There was a greater object in French, and yet it disappeared in most part quite early. It may also have kept out such ungrammatical forms as *illui*, or *eorum*, *illorum* for *suus*.

This was less due to conscious linguistic preoccupation in which an esthetic, rhythmical, artistic, rather than grammatical in the modern sense of the word, effect was sought after, more or less deliberately as was the case in Italy, than to a natural consequence of its frequent use by a class greatly looked up to and quite constantly associated with their people, as must have been the case with the lower clergy of Spain.

The longer preservation of the analytical form of the Romance future is due to the same cause. Leo Spitzer (Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil. 44, p. 175) says: "Dafs das Spanische Portugiesische auch hier die Selbständigkeit der Glieder so zähe aufrecht erhält, mag an seinem Konservativismus — also doch seiner langsameren Entwicklung? oder — was dasselbe ist — an den hemmenden Einflüssen seiner latinisierenden Schulen liegen." That is to say, the use of the duplicate form along with the synthesized is very likely due to the influence of the clergy in Spain and the cultured groups that would form around them (Pidal, Orig. p. 472). They would naturally keep both elements separate and independent, showing that they knew the components of the expression, just as we see to-day expressions restored by learned or semi-learned people, cf. in French: *au diable au vert*, restored by such into: *au diable Vauvert*, etc.

But this learned influence was essentially desultory. It could not recast the morphology of the language as was the case with French, because that language was hardly used for literary or cultural purposes. So the two-case system so essential for the latter object was not preserved. When some centuries later the popular language was made use of for cultural purposes, the two-case system had had time to disintegrate completely.

The reason why we say that this vulgar speech was not used for cultural purposes is, as we have explained repeatedly, that its

existence was not acknowledged or recognized. We have, for instance, no evidence whatever that priests had to preach in Romance, Romana lingua rustica. The councils are as silent on this point in Spain as they are in Italy. It is not to be supposed that it was done as a matter of course, but quite the reverse. The presence of the élite and its aloofness from the ignorant mass are attested by the various facts advanced above. Also, as this language had no official existence, it had no name: lingua romana was the language of France and the name Romance was not naturally evolved in Spain as it was in France (Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil. [1923], pp. 9—19). It was borrowed from France into Spain when finally the vulgar tongue received recognition. The oldest Spanish documents, the Glosas Emilianenses and Silenses seem to indicate that even at that late date, end of the Xth century, they still preached in Latin, intermingling explanations in the "vulgar" of difficult words and expressions (Pidal, Orig. p. 8). The sermons were those of the fathers; there was not, as in France, that development of the free preaching based on the actual needs of the people, which is so striking in France and in France alone. Even the aristocratic influence of the reform of Charlemagne could only bring out more vividly this special feature of French social life. The Capitula gathered by Abbot Ansegisis (827) bear witness to this fact, and models of sermons and suggestions as to what to say are found repeatedly (MGH CRF Leg. Sect. II, T. I, I, 75, 76, 103, 154; II, 4 etc.).

Yet this aristocratic aloofness was not to be maintained as consistently in Spain as it was in Italy. The work of defense of Christianity against the Moors, the spirit of the reconquest, brought about a repression of aristocratic isolation, a sense of intimate cooperation of all Christians which could not help but find a real expression in the vulgar tongue. During the IXth and Xth centuries, it was spasmodic, as it were: popular movement and aristocratic pressure getting the upper hand in turn. It is evidently in the phonetic domain that this contrast is most striking. The vocalization of the *l* + cons., *altro* = *autro* and the reduction of the diphthong proceed very rapidly (Pidal, Or. 108). In León we find *altaru* = *autario* in 950, *autairo* 947, *autero* 922, *oteyro* 1078, *otero* 983. In one century both diphthongs have been reduced, whereas it will take French six centuries to achieve the same results (already *cauculatore* in Anseg. Capit. I, 62 and still *aux* = *aos* in Meigret ap. Thurot Pron. franç. pref. XIII and pass.).

However the learned influence, limited at once the number of words in which the first vulgarism *al* = *au* prevailed, so that only some half dozen words have survived, like *otro*, *soto* etc. It is also Menéndez Pidal's explanation, Or. p. 120: "la influencia

de una moda o corriente erudita que segun fué vigorosa o débil mantuvo ciertos cultismos... o perdono y dejò vivir otros vulgarismos...".

This spasmodic or vacillating progress is also a sort of tug — of — war between these two sorts of influence, the aristocratic or learned, and the popular. It explains some of the peculiarities of Spanish phonetics very clearly. Like all movements which meet with obstacles, they proceed farther and more thoroughly, yet on a more limited range. They push through and through along the lines which are open; they do not open new ones. The diphthongization of open *e* and *o* was, as we have said, already started, when the real conflict began with the consciousness about language, which characterizes the IXth century and is both cause and effect of Charlemagne's activity in the domain of letters. Also various forms of palatalization, among others, *ct* = *jt*, etc., had gone on, some of them, for centuries; others may have been more recent, but palatalization was then an important feature at the service of linguistic expression. These the learned or aristocratic influence could not restrain in the purely Spanish groups, although it did so partially in the West and in the East; they went ahead and so completely that they were not checked, as in French and Italian, by groups of consonants, as though concentrating upon themselves the energy to which a vent was denied in other vowels. The yod, which in the transformation of Latin into Romance has played such an important part, was made to produce original combinations.

The Spanish people, in their growing national consciousness, thus affirmed linguistically the vigour that filled them. It is especially the Castilian that was most representative of the new Spanish soul breaking out from under the crust of learned or aristocratic influence and Roman tradition, because it was the Castilians that stood out in the XIth century as the foremost Spaniards, as the leaders in the mission of the nation.

Whatever opinion one may hold in regard to the relationship of Catalonian to the other dialects of the Spanish peninsula, it is clear that during that period, from Charlemagne until the XIIth century, Catalonia did not share in the specific Spanish life of the reconquista, nor in the linguistic phenomena that were to give expression to it. During these decisive years, Catalonia lived more the life of Southern France, and her language has preserved the indelible stamp of this association.

But however powerful the spiritual energies of the Spaniards and especially the Castilians were, that expressed themselves in a very original and rich phonology (Menéndez Pidal, Orig. p. 542), the linguistic evolution did not in general affect more vowels or consonants than were already involved by the IXth century, as it

did in France. In the latter country also, a similar condition of a national, soul-stirring inspiration had taken possession of all, but more gradually and thoroughly, earlier also and in an incomparably greater social group. Linguistically, this had found expression in a complete recasting of Romance phonology, except in a few well defined cases, like the long *i*, checked vowels, most groups of consonants, in which either the physiological difficulties were greater or whose transformation would have defeated the very spirit of these linguistic changes. The spiritual energies of the French linguistic group had practically the open field of the phonetics of the language to exercise themselves and create an adequate expression. They did not need to overstep these apparently natural bounds.

In Spain and especially Castile, they were limited to the sounds generally undergoing change.

A movement once stopped cannot be resumed along exactly the same lines; and the Vulgar Latin evolution of vowels by emphasis of their characteristic elements, labial or palatal, had been arrested by the Carolingian Renaissance in Spain as well as in Italy, except in the case of open *o* and *e* whose diphthongization was already started. The return of a democratic or thoroughly national impulse in the Xth and XIth centuries, finding expression in linguistic creation, could not take up the Vulgar Latin direction which had been adhered to in France; its natural material was evidently the unstable elements, open *e* and *o*, still in the act of diphthongization, for as Prof. Menéndez Pidal so pertinently observes (Orig. p. 565): "Hay que desechar la falsa creencia de que los cambios linguísticos se realizan rápida y casi momentáneamente". This diphthongization of open *e* and *o*, Spanish and Castilian especially carried out almost completely, even when these vowels were checked. Palatalized groups *nocte, noite* were another such element, favorable because still unstable and in the act of completing itself. Castilian emphasized, doubled this palatalization, *nocte, noite, noitie*; it created sonorous groups out the liquids, *mn, mbr*. In other words, its Vulgar Latin evolution was not extended, because of the aristocratic or learned interruption of the Carolingian Renaissance, but it was resumed in time to continue the transformations which had started before the check had become too effective, and on these, it exercised its full force and esthetic energy.

Menéndez Pidal also sees a direct connection between the more intense and buoyant national life of the Castilians and their linguistic evolution. Yet at no time in the phonetic evolution of Spanish was the learned influence inoperative. A feature of this influence, analogous to that which was exercised on Italian, was the preservation of the characteristic Vulgar Latin endings *-o*,

-a. It did not allow the final *o* to disappear, which in turn would have brought about, as it did in France the weakening of *a* to *o*, *ə*. The consequence of this important preservation which had to overcome a natural popular tendency which is very evident in the XIth century (Menéndez Pidal, Orig. p. 101 ff.) is great indeed since it probably was the decisive factor in keeping alive the Late Latin rhythm in Spanish, which might otherwise have followed a parallel road to that of French and finally become a language generally stressed on the last syllable. I think a careful study of Catalonian and Provençal in which final *-o* was dropt, would precisely show various stages of this evolution, more advanced perhaps around Barcelona where life is more intense than in the West (cf. *gelata* = *jəladə* (A. Griera, Bull. d. dial. cat. VIII et IX, ap. Jud, Roman. Rev. XVI, 4, 1925, p. 378). In France, Provençal lives but a sort of inferior life in cities. That this development should, in those languages, lag behind French is due to various reasons which it would be too long to analyze here but which might, without difficulty, be determined with a relatively high degree of accuracy.

In Spanish, Prof. Menéndez Pidal (loc. cit.) attributes such forms as, *naf* = *nave*, *of* = *ove*, *nuef* = *nuevo* to the influence of Bearnese and Catalonian. But it seems too general in Spain, in Leon, Aragon, in the Poema del Cid, among the Mozarabs, to be due to outside local influences. They are rather extreme developments of vulgar pronunciation which were checked in time by the learned influences whose effectiveness in this direction is quite apparent. The question is, therefore, why Castilian which represents an increase of national élan and creation or emphasis of the purely Spanish phenomena, ca. 1100, v. g. *-lt-* = *ch*, *mme* = *mbre*, *ll* = *j*, did not adopt such a feature essentially popular and in keeping with an increase of stress. And the reason seems to be that these Late Latin endings, *o* and *a*, having been retained under learned influence before the period in question, had helped to preserve a trochaic rhythm which was taken advantage of in the development of Castilian, being found suitable and effective as an element of expression of the new national consciousness. The maintenance of the trochaic rhythm paved the way to a restoration of the dactylic which Vulgar Latin was discarding more and more.

The learned influence contributed this share to the linguistic creation of Spain. In fact this movement, akin to the Italian, although not so pronounced, allowed, on the one hand, the reintroduction of classical Latin words with their normal accent, and on the other hand, the survival in the popular tongue of atonic suffixes (Menéndez Pidal, Sufijos átonos en español, p. 386 ff., in Bausteine z. Rom. Phil., Festg. f. Ad. Mussafia) to which the

Spanish people has taken such a liking that the lower classes use it wrongly in many words, like *telégramas*, *cólegas méndigo*, etc. (Toro y Gesbert, Tesoro de la lingua esp., Paris, 1917).

Certainly the sense of the dactylic rhythm was never absolutely lost, as Menéndez Pidal says (Baust. p. 399) but there is truth in Storm's statement, Romania V, 187, "on sait qu'il y a beaucoup de dérivés en ajo proparox. de formation récente" and their development does not begin until the formation of Castilian, after the XIth century.

Conclusion.

We have followed, in a bird's eye view, the evolution of Vulgar Latin and its branching out into three important western Romance languages. We have emphasized the paramount importance of the social causes either in the maintenance of a common language, or in its breaking out into the various dialects. We have seen the cooperation of the purely linguistic phenomena with those of a more psychological and sociological character, and how thoroughly the well ascertained facts of each trait bear out this explanation. Attention has been repeatedly called to the varied forms which the "tug of war" between popular and learned or aristocratic tendencies had taken in the three western branches of the Romance languages. It is plain that scholars are directing their attention to these tangible causes more and more.

Yet, while the main factors of the evolution of Romance are mainly sociological, in the manifold choice or selection of elements and their extension, some intimate and esthetic relations of the various sounds with the peculiar temperament of the people must be made out and analyzed. At any rate, we will soon see the day when a linguistic phenomenon of the XIth century will no longer be explained by a condition supposed to have been prevalent a thousand years earlier.

An attempt has been made to show that the Koinê was as much in existence in the west in the Merovingian period as it had been under the Empire. The social conditions which had made for its existence, far from being weakened by the events of the Vth, VIth, VIIth and even VIIIth centuries, were on the contrary quickened and enhanced; a colossal work of colonization and social transformation took place in the Latin world which effectively prevented the formation of isolated groups having their own center of influence, which is the necessary social prerequisite for dialectalization. At no time, on the contrary, was there a more thorough interpenetration among the people of these regions.

The linguistic facts that we have singled out, the production of the Romance future, passive, idiomatic constructions of an almost morphological nature, important characteristic usages like that of the plural of majesty, the evident lack of separate phonetic

developments before the end of the VIIIth, the great number of them after that date, all this, in perfect keeping with the social aspect of the situation, points to the IXth century as the *terminus a quo,* when the diverging, or to use Schuchardt's expression, the centrifugal forces get the upper hand. The actual historical events marking the beginning of this new period are equally well authenticated. The greater part of Charlemagne's civil activity was engaged in them.

Linguistically and socially, the two main forces that contend for supremacy are the learned or aristocratic and the popular tendencies. From the IXth century on, the unifying activity of the Merovingian period, when both tendencies combined in such a particular manner in the great work of Christianization of Romania, was superseded by the working of the respective conditions in each of the three main western divisions. The democratic or homogeneous culture of the French brought about the triumph of the vulgar tongue, its early use for literature and a powerful blooming forth of their popular ideals. It, therefore, resulted in a continuation of the phonetic evolution begun in Vulgar Latin and carried to its end: the practical absorption of the word in the tonic syllable, the diphthongization and enlargement of that syllable, on one hand; on the other, the maintenance of the two-case system and upbuilding of the same through the important and thorough use of that language for cultural purposes.

In Italy and Spain, on the contrary, the natural aristocratic constitution of society due to the presence of a numerous and influential élite, got the upper hand. In Italy, after a prolonged survival of Latin among the élite as the language of imperial Rome, the vulgar tongue gradually gained ground, being used by the élite for the ordinary purposes of every day life; but due to its inferior position, it had by then lost this momentum toward a logical development of its tendencies to harmonious syncopation and diphthongization. When, however, through the ultimate victory of the vulgar tongue in Italy, Italian became the normal expression of a great people and culture, it was no more through the stress exercising its principal effect on the vowel that the esthetic expression characteristic of every live language could take place. Under the leadership of the élite, it found delight in the fullness of the word which it enlarged rather than diminished; also it had in the consonant the plastic material for such an esthetic expression, with the result that the traditional pronunciation of vowels was more easily controlled, that of consonants much less. Especially effective from the point of view of escaping that control, as well as from that of expression, was the doubling of consonants which is so typical of Italian (most French double the *l* in such expressions as "*je l'ai vu*" without being aware of it). Besides,

it made for greater fullness and emphasis of the word, which was the instinctive aim of Italian expression. So the Italian élite in adopting the vulgar tongue gradually rebuilt it according to their own phonetic ideal, greatly inspired by early humanistic enthusiasm for the full forms and rhythm of Latin phonology and the rich clang of its sonorous consonants. The two-case system had by that time completely crumbled to dust and, besides, would have had no interest for this élite constructing this new language out of vulgar material.

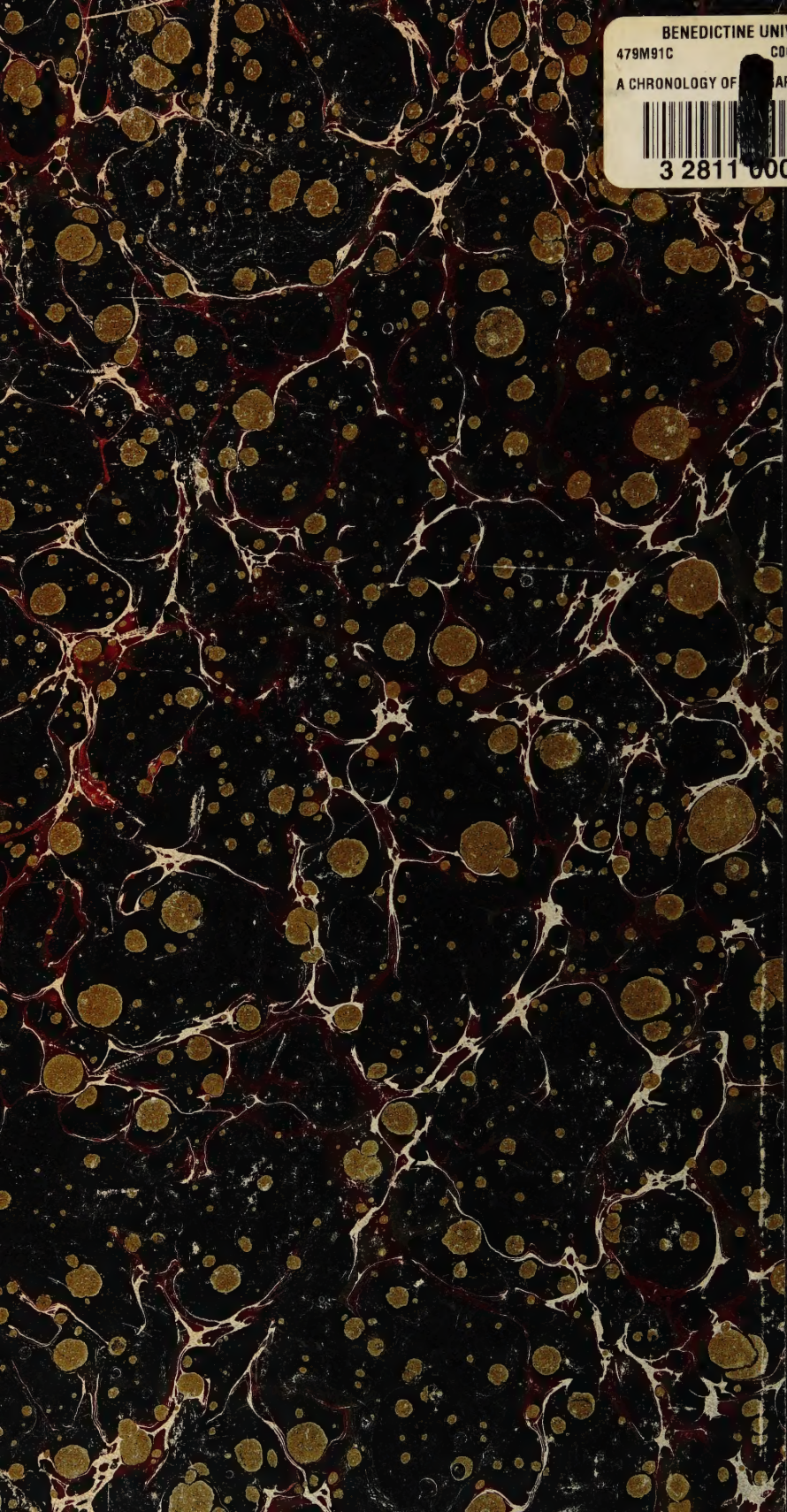
In Spain, the aristocratic constitution of the country, conditioned by the presence of an intellectual élite, was not so thorough, so conscious of its ideal and superiority. Linguistically, it could not prevent syncopation and diphthongization so completely. Although the élite lived for itself, it nevertheless needed the cooperation of the masses which it, at first vacillatingly, organized for the defense of Christianity. Whenever there is a national work to be performed, cooperation of high and low, of élite and vulgar, is bound to happen. Nothing for instance contributed so much to the intellectual unification of Germany as the Lutheran reformation and, of France, at the end of the classical period, as the French revolution. Although more restricted in point of extent, if more thorough-going in point of intensity, a certain amount of logical development of Vulgar Latin tendencies could therefore take place. On the other hand, some cultured, more or less artificial forms were preserved in the morphology of Spanish through their constant use by the clerical élite.

As for the two-case system it was allowed to disintegrate, for the vulgar tongue was not used as in French for extensive cultural purposes which alone would have maintained it.

Such are the general lines of the social and linguistic development in the western group after the VIIIth century.

Errata.

p. 1, l. 14 comma after declension.
p. 3, l. 5 omit comma.
p. 5, l. 35 note '1' should be note '2'.
p. 12, l. 4 'which' should be 'who'.
p. 23 note 3 place brackets before and after 'an. 400'; remove bracket sign after '400'.
p. 28, l. 32 remove first comma.
p. 29, l. 24 'depaganizition' should be 'depaganization'.
p. 35, l. 23 'Chansons' should be 'chansons'.
p. 38, l. 7 *Koinê* should be Koinê.
p. 43, l. 18 insert 'these' after 'not'.
p. 45, l. 24 'efflorenscence' should be 'efflorescence'.
p. 54, l. 11 to l. 14 all Latin words would be italicized.
p. 55, last line 'avec' should be "avec".
p. 57, l. 7 'saliga' should be 'salica'.
p. 57, l. 25 '*Ab*' should be '*ab*'.
p. 57, l. 27 'Oath' should be 'Oaths'.
p. 58, l. 32 'est' should be '*est*' in both places.
p. 60, l. 26 'anxiousness' should be 'anxiety'.
p. 65, l. 19 'dea', 'de', should be '*dea*', '*de*'.
p. 66, l. 33 'vulgar' should be 'Vulgar'.
p. 68, l. 30 'eample' should be 'example'.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